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UNFETTERED INTERCOURSE BETWEEN
ALL NATIONS



THE BEST SECURITY
FOR
ABUNDANCE AND PEACE.

AN EARNEST PLEA
FOR THE
REIGN OF TEMPERANCE
AND PEACE,

AS
Conducive to the Prosperity of Nations ;

SUBMITTED TO THE
VISITORS OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION,

IN WHICH ARE COLLECTED
THE RICH TREASURES OF ART AND INDUSTRY FROM
ALL QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE.

ACCOMPANIED BY DOCUMENTS IN PROOF OF THE
STATEMENTS AND PRINCIPLES INVOLVED.

BY JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM.

OF all the causes that are most destructive of human life, and most injurious to Health, Wealth, Morality, and Happiness, INTemperance and WAR may be numbered as the most powerful : while National and Individual Prosperity, and the highest interests of Education, Commerce, Industry, Science, Art, and Religion—in short, the most perfect enjoyment of the Life that is, and the fittest preparation for the Life that is to come,—are all promoted by TEMPERANCE AND PEACE.

PETER JACKSON, LATE FISHER SON, & CO.
ANGEL STREET, ST. MARTIN'S-LE-GRAND, LONDON.

26. 11. 67.

EXPLANATION OF THE ENGRAVING.

IN the year 1826, soon after my return from India, having undertaken a Tour through England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the purpose of propagating, by Lectures and Public Discussions, the doctrines of Free Trade, in every Commodity, and between all the Nations of the Earth—a Tour which extended over more than four years, and led me to visit all the principal Towns in the Kingdom—every mode by which these doctrines could be illustrated or enforced was pressed into the service, and appeals to the *eye* were thought as useful as appeals to the *ear*. In conformity with this determination, several Pictorial Designs were sketched, each with its appropriate motto, and these were extensively introduced into the manufacture of various articles in frequent domestic use, as well as framed in Tablets to be suspended on the walls of dwellings, as “Household Words,” in order to keep the truths inscribed on them perpetually present, as well as to furnish topics for reflection and conversation. On turning to these recently, one of the Series, forming the Centre-Piece of a Dessert Service of China, manufactured for me in the Potteries of Staffordshire, seemed so appropriate to the present occasion, that I have been induced to prefix it to this little Volume, harmonizing, as it does, so faithfully with the actual object of the Great Exhibition, of which it may be considered indeed as a dim and distant fore-shadowing (as it was executed twenty-five years ago), since it represents the several quarters of the globe, bringing from their respective regions, and presenting, under the auspices of the Olive Branch, specimens of their characteristic products to Britannia. The only anomaly in the scene is, that Africa is there represented as still captive, and imploring freedom from her chains, before she can join this Universal Congress of Peace. Since the Design was first made, however, that portion of the children of Africa then in bondage, have been made free—and let us hope that before another quarter of a century shall have elapsed—Slavery will become extinct throughout the world !

TEMPERANCE.

"I AM convinced that there is no cause more likely to elevate the people of this country, in every respect—whether as regards religion—whether as regards political importance—whether as regards literary and moral cultivation—than the great question of TEMPERANCE."—*Lord John Russell.*

"Let me record my sense of the value of TEMPERANCE, and my friendliness to TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES."—*Dr. Chalmers' Scripture Readings.*

Dr. Chalmers, in a conversation with a friend, only a few days before his death, uttered this sentence—"The TEMPERANCE cause I regard with the most benignant complacency."

"It cannot be denied that ABSTINENCE SOCIETIES have done immense good."—*Rev. Dr. Wardlaw.*

"There is one condition among the Rules for the Great Exhibition, for which the Commissioners cannot be too highly commended, and which should be inscribed in letters of gold over the building. It is, that 'NO WINES, SPIRITS, BEER, OR INTOXICATING DRINKS, CAN BE SOLD OR ADMITTED.' Such an example, coming from such a quarter, will yield its fruits."—*Berlyn's Narrative of the Great Exhibition.*

OPINIONS OF BRITISH JUDGES.

THE celebrated Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Hale, after twenty years' experience on the Bench, declared his belief, "that if all the crimes committed in the kingdom were divided into five parts, *four* out of these five could be clearly traced to the influence of excessive drinking."

Mr. Justice Erskine, at the Salisbury Assizes, when sentencing a gentleman to six months' hard labour, for a crime committed when under the influence of strong drink, declared his conviction, "that *ninety-nine* out of every hundred criminal cases, arose from the same cause."

Judge Pattison, at the Norwich Assizes, said to the Grand Jury, "If it were not for this *drinking*, you and I should have nothing to do."

Judge Alderson, on a recent similar occasion, said, "Drunkenness is the most fertile of all the causes of crime; and if it could be removed, the Assizes of the country would be rendered mere nullities."

PEACE AND UNITY OF MANKIND.

"I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person to watch and study the time in which he lives, and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained. Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the particular features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end—to which, indeed, all history points—the realization of THE UNITY OF MANKIND.—*H.R.H. the Prince Albert.*

"I trust that the object which has been proposed—the Great Exhibition—will be as successful in its results as it is grand in its conception. We shall have still more occasion to be gratified if the aspirations of His Royal Highness be answered, as I trust they will: and that, while the first object is attained of advancing the national prosperity, it will also tend to improve our SOCIAL RELATIONS, and to add to the amicable intercourse of different nations with our own. I rejoice in this the more, because it will tend to carry into effect one of the most glorious characteristics of our holy religion—GOOD WILL AMONG MEN."—*The Archbishop of Canterbury.*

"On a Roman holiday, hecatombs of wild beasts were slain, and sanguinary conflicts took place, of man against man. We propose to gratify the people by other agencies, more in harmony with our Civilisation and our Christianity—to teach them gratitude to the Almighty Creator, by exhibiting the wonderful contrivances of Nature for the happiness of man, and to draw closer the BONDS OF AMITY and GENERAL INTERCOURSE, by the honest rivalry of industry and skill."—*Sir Robert Peel.*

"We have now converted this country into the TEMPLE OF PEACE for the whole world. We have invited the natives of every civilized land to come here, not to the rivalry of strength, or of brutal force, or the arts of human destruction, but to compare the progress which each nation has made in those arts which constitute the happiness and ornament of the human race. * * There is a growing disposition in Europe to settle quarrels among the nations by AMICABLE INTERVENTION and negotiation. The progress of civilization in

PEACE AND UNITY OF MANKIND.

Europe is most gratifying to the friends of PEACE, and Her Majesty's Government are anxious, not only to preserve this country from the calamities of WAR, but to exercise their influence to secure other countries also, from those calamities."

Viscount Palmerston.

"I do not doubt, that while this Great Exhibition shall show to foreign countries the marvels of our industry—shall show to us, also, the marvels of the industry of our foreign competitors—no dishonourable rivalry, no hostile feeling, no angry competition, will be excited, but mutual emulation of each other's peaceful prowess, mutual desire to promote harmonious intercourse, and that friendly communication which is kept up by commerce and the interchange of the miracles of art, will be the result of this great experiment, which now brings together all the ends of the earth."—*Lord Stanley.*

"When I reflected that this peaceful and guiltless triumph over the elements, and over Nature herself (the construction of the first railway from Manchester to Liverpool) had cost only one million of money, while fifteen hundred millions had been squandered on cruelty and crime—in naturalizing barbarism over the world—shrouding the nations in darkness, drenching with blood the soil of every land—in one horrid and comprehensive word—squandered in WAR—the greatest curse of the human race, and the greatest crime, because it involves every other crime within its execrable name, I look backward with shame, with regret unspeakable, with indignation to which I should in vain attempt to give utterance, upon that course of policy which we are now happily too well-informed and too well-intentioned ever to allow again whilst we live."—*Lord Brougham.*

"Though a period will arrive when all the objects now displayed at the Great Exhibition will disappear, and be scattered over different portions of the earth, yet there are many benefits resulting from it which will not equally vanish away. There will not, I trust, disappear that feeling of FRIENDSHIP and BROTHERHOOD which has existed, when the nations of the earth have been, as it were, shaking hands with each other in the midst of that Exhibition, that feeling of friendly rivalry for objects calculated to promote THE GOOD OF ALL, that unwillingness to do anything that might promote ANGER and DISSENSION, and the wish, that, on the other hand, CONCORD AND PEACE SHOULD REIGN THROUGHOUT THE EARTH."—*Lord John Russell.*

GRATUITOUS CIRCULATION.

It having been thought desirable to present a Copy of this little Volume *gratuitously* to as many of the English Exhibitors at the Crystal Palace as the funds subscribed for this purpose would admit, in the hope that, if they should become impressed with the truths it contains, they would, on their return to their several localities, introduce the subject to their friends and neighbours, as well as to the numerous workmen in their employ, the following amounts have been contributed by the parties named, for that purpose, and the presentation will be co-extensive with the means.—Other individuals, however, desirous of procuring copies for their own use, or for presentation to Libraries, Mechanics' Institutions, or places of public resort, where they may be likely to attract the notice of readers not otherwise easy of access, may be supplied with them at 2s. 6d. for a single copy, or ten copies for a sovereign; and whoever may see fit to republish the whole, or any portion of its contents, in a cheaper form, either for sale or distribution, is at perfect liberty to do so, as no pecuniary profit is desired by any parties from this "labour of love."

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TO THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN VISITORS
OF THE
GREAT EXHIBITION.

As the Olympic Games of Greece, the Military Triumphs of Rome, and the Religious Pilgrimages of the Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan nations, of the Eastern and Western World, in past ages, drew vast multitudes, from the most distant quarters of the globe, to participate in the objects which these great gatherings were severally intended to accomplish : so, in the year 1851, London is become the great focus of attraction, drawing together, by its "Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations," a larger number of human beings, and in far greater diversity of complexions, creeds, occupations, tastes, and languages, than were ever assembled together, perhaps, since the dispersion at the building of Babel.

Amidst the infinite variety of interests involved in the success or failure of this great undertaking,

from which some augur a large amount of evil, but from which a still greater number anticipate incalculable good, there is one consideration which can hardly fail to hold deserved prominence in the public mind : namely, that the very foundation of this magnificent scheme is based on the idea of "human brotherhood," and on the conviction, that in the true interests of humanity all distinctions of race, country, and faith should give way before the Gospel doctrine, of the equality of Mankind in the eyes of their Creator, as preached by Paul, in his Discourse on Mars' Hill, to the Athenians, to whom he declared that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth : for we are all his offspring."

The period seems to have arrived, indeed, which was foretold by the prophet Daniel, when he wrote, that towards the latter days "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." The progressive and successive developments and discoveries in the various branches of art and science during the last and present century, all seem to point to such a period. The gradual breaking down of the barriers of prejudice, which separated nations from each other who ought to have been united—the growing conviction that every country has an interest in the prosperity of every other, instead of in its destruction—the wider spread of intelligence among all ranks and conditions of men—the increased facilities of travel by land and sea, and the consequent personal inspection of foreign nations,

and intercourse with divers races and peoples rarely visited before—the declining disposition for War, and the general estimation of Peace—the removal of restrictions on Commerce—the invention of the electric telegraph—all these, and many other characteristics of the present age, appear but as progressive links in one great chain which seems destined to encircle the Earth, and ultimately bind all its inhabitants in the bonds of fellowship and good-will—as the harbinger of that happy day when the “lion shall lie down with the lamb”—when “men shall beat their spears into pruning-hooks, and their swords into plough-shares”—when “every man shall sit under his vine and his fig-tree, with none to make him afraid”—when “the nations shall not learn war any more”—when Justice and Peace shall establish their dominion—and Truth and Righteousness shall triumph over Error and Sin.

To hasten the arrival of this happy period by the removal of every obstacle that can obstruct its progress, must be clearly the duty of all who acknowledge the doctrine of human brotherhood, and who love their neighbours as themselves: and, therefore, in the performance of this duty we desire, in the spirit of Christian love and charity, to draw the attention of all those Visitors to the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations—whether they come from the provinces of our own country, or from more distant lands—to what we deem the Giant Evil of Britain at least, and, though perhaps in a

less degree, the chief obstacle to financial, sanitary, political, moral, and religious improvement, in every other country of Christendom.

Amidst the wonders of artistic skill and the marvels of human invention, with which the Crystal Palace abounds, no man can doubt of the amazing progress made by the civilized nations of the world, in mechanical and manufacturing industry, and in the rich and varied products of the different zones and climes of the globe ; while no one can fail to perceive, and to be grateful for the perception, that the bounty of the Creator is infinite, in the riches and abundance with which he has blessed the globe we inhabit, and the convertibility of all this wealth of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms to the comfort, and enjoyment of his creatures.

In the splendid public buildings, and sumptuous private mansions of the Metropolis—in the rich Galleries of Art, the noble National Museum—the docks, with their forests of masts—the rail-roads with their crowds of passengers—the warehouses bending beneath the weight of their valuable contents—the flourishing state of the public revenue—the high price of the public funds—the luxurious enjoyments of the wealthy, in the theatres, operas, concerts, balls, dinners, and entertainments of all kinds—the throng of gorgeous equipages and prancing horses that crowd our streets and parks—with a hundred other similar indications of increased material wealth—every visitor to London must per-

ceive undoubted proofs of the general opulence of the nation, if he conceives the Metropolis to be a fair indication of the actual condition of the country; and if he travelled through the provinces, he would find, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Dublin and Belfast, Liverpool and Manchester, and many other provincial towns and cities, an equally proportionate number of opulent individuals, and colossal establishments of manufacturing industry, through which a large portion of this general wealth is produced.

In the formation of the globe, as the intended habitation of man, the all-wise and benevolent Creator provided it with every requisite for health, happiness, and enjoyment. And when man himself was created, his Maker endowed him with all the faculties necessary for the right direction of his conduct, and for the fit and proper appropriation of whatever the Earth might yield or produce, to those ends which should afford the greatest amount of good to the greatest number of created beings, and be the most innocent, and most enduring.

Thus, in the gift of inflammable materials, such as wood and coals, though both are most valuable gifts of the Creator, yet each may be appropriated to a *bad* as well as to a *good* purpose,—either to construct comfortable dwellings, and forge useful metals, or to destroy cities and people by widespread conflagration. The metals themselves, as iron for example, may be converted into the plough, for the cultivation of the earth, and tools for works of utility and enjoyment—or be wrought upon into

swords for slaughter, and instruments of torture for the prolongation of human suffering. In like manner, the fruits of the Earth may be used as innocent and nutritious food, or be converted by fermentation and distillation into intoxicating poisons. And even the animals subjected to man's dominion, may by him be converted into useful aids to human labour, as in the horse for draught or burthen, and the dog for watchfulness; or be made instruments of death and destruction, as in the armed cavalry of warring nations, and in the blood-hounds of Spanish America.

Thus much it has been thought necessary to premise, in order to show that the mere fact of the Deity having furnished the Earth with certain productions, does not justify any *evil use* which man may make of them; since his reason is given to him as a guide by which he may discover and distinguish the good from the bad, in the purposes to which he may apply them. In an enlarged and comprehensive sense, there can be no doubt that "every creature of God is good:" that is, every production of nature is good for *certain uses*, when we have the wisdom to discover them. Venomous serpents and loathsome reptiles, no doubt, subserve some great end in their creation; but we do not therefore deem them fit for food: and many poisonous substances, in the mineral and vegetable world, are excellent medicines, but we do not therefore use them as an ordinary beverage. In all such cases, Experience is the surest test by which to

judge of the effects produced by the several creatures and substances with which the Earth is supplied. When Experience shows any particular use of any of these to be beneficial to health and innocent enjoyment, and not prejudicial to morals or religion, such use may be lawfully adopted : but whenever Experience proves the general or special application of any thing or substance to be injurious to health, destructive of innocent enjoyment, or fatal to morals and religion, it is as clearly unwise to continue so to appropriate them.

Judged by this practical test, we desire to call the attention of the reader to the history and effects of the use of Stimulating and Intoxicating Drinks, which, from the earliest ages to the present time, have been so powerful a cause in the creation of disease, crime, misery, and destitution, in all the nations in which this habit has prevailed ; and which at the present day is beyond all doubt one of the principal sources of the painful contrast between the condition of the very opulent and the very poor, and of the retardation of that improvement in their circumstances, which, but for this cause, the labouring classes, of all Christian countries at least, might long ere this have realized and enjoyed.

Without drawing too largely on the history of the olden times, it may be permitted us to advert to some few of the more prominent incidents connected with this usage in the early ages of the world.

The first record of the planting of the vine is in

the history of Noah, who, after the flood is said to have "planted a vineyard; and he drank of the wine, and was drunken"—(Genesis, ix. 21.) The scene which followed this first act of inebriation, can leave no doubt of its having deprived him, for the time, of the clear use of his reason, and of its leading to that abandonment of all sense of propriety, which is as characteristic of drunkenness now as it was five thousand years ago.

In the instructions given by God himself to Aaron, the High Priest, whose sacred office rendered it important that he should be an example of purity to the rest of the nation; these are the words contained in the Sacred Volume:—"And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying, Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation; lest ye die: it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations, that ye may put a difference between holy and unholy, and between clean and unclean." (Levit. x. 8.)

In the history of Samson, the strongest man of his own or any other age, an express injunction was given to the mother who bore him, "to drink no wine or strong drink;" and the same abstinence from both was enjoined on the son, whose strength was so remarkably exhibited both during his life and at his death. (Judges, xiii. to xvi.)

Solomon, one of the wisest, as Samson was one of the strongest of men, was so deeply impressed with the evil consequences resulting from the use

of stimulating drinks, that in his Proverbs he says, "Wine is a mocker ; strong drink is raging ; and whosoever is deceived thereby, is not wise." (Prov. xx. 1.) And again: "Who hath woe ? who hath sorrow ? who hath contentions ? who hath babbling ? who hath wounds without cause ? who hath redness of eyes ? They that tarry long at the wine : they that go to seek mixed wine.—Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." (Prov. xxiii. 29 to 32.)

The prophet Isaiah laments the evils brought on their own heads by the priests and prophets of Ephraim, from their use of intoxicating drink. "Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower, which are on the head of the fat valleys of them that are overcome with wine ! They have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way : the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink ; they are swallowed up of wine, they are out of the way through strong drink ; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment. (Isa. xxviii. 1 to 8.)

The destruction of Nineveh, whose inhabitants are described by the prophet Nahum, as "drunken as drunkards," (c. i. v. 10,) was mainly owing to the prevalence of this vice among its people, and they were destroyed amidst their feastings and revellings, when unprepared for a vigorous defence.

The fall of the mighty Babylon arose mainly from the same cause. The wanton act of burning the magnificent Temple at Persepolis, by Alexander the Great, was suggested during a drunken banquet, and instigated by Thais, a Greek courtesan. The assassination of his bosom-friend Clitus, by the same Alexander, at Ecbatana, was perpetrated in a drunken debauch; and this great hero of antiquity, so falsely surnamed "the Great," after subjugating nearly all Asia by his arms, himself suffered a premature death at the early age of 33, from a fierce fever brought on by excessive draughts of wine in a banquet at Babylon. Though competent to subdue the world in arms, he was unable to command himself; and thus the most powerful conqueror of his own or any other age, was himself conquered by the most potent slayer of the human race.

It would be easy to fill a volume with similar examples from sacred and profane history, of the evils arising from the use of stimulating drinks, but enough has been said to satisfy all those who are open to conviction on the subject. Let us turn therefore from the records of the past, to the actual state of present times, to enlarge our information on this subject.

It is worthy of remark, that during all the ages which have rolled by since the first proof of the intoxicating quality of wine was made manifest in the instance of Noah, up to a very recent period from the present day, neither the injunctions of the Sacred Volume, nor the admonitions of the priest-

hood, nor the experience of the medical profession, nor the testimony of judges, magistrates, and persons in authority, as to the evil effects resulting from the use of intoxicating drinks, in their injurious operation on the health, finances, education, morals, and religion of the parties habitually consuming them, seems to have produced any other conviction than this—that the stimulants were in themselves actually *beneficial*, nay, even *necessary* to the maintenance of health and strength, and that the only evil to be guarded against was their *immoderate* or *excessive* uses.

Acting on this conviction, a few benevolent and philanthropic men, about twenty years since, organized themselves, first in the United States of America,—where the evils of intemperance had been most strikingly displayed, and subsequently in England, where these evils were scarcely less prevalent,—into a Society, for promoting what was called “the moderate use of wine and beer, and the prohibition of ardent spirits only.”

Such a Society, presenting no difficulties, and demanding no sacrifices from the great bulk of its members, became exceedingly popular, and was honored with the patronage of royalty, the commendation of the clergy, and the absence of hostility from any considerable portion either of the press or the people.

It was soon discovered, however, that such a Society could produce little or no change in the habits of the community; because, as every indi-

vidual was at liberty to fix his own standard of what was a *moderate* use of the intoxicating drinks allowed, namely, wine and beer—the prohibition extending only to ardent spirits—each individual made his own appetite or inclination the standard or test. One thought it was a “moderate use” to confine himself to a quart of beer, or a pint of wine per day : another, having from habit made a much larger quantity necessary to the satisfaction of his appetite, could not be brought to see anything “immoderate” in double or treble the quantity. Differences of temperament, of age, of health, of capacity of endurance, of toil, of anxiety, or any other occupation or affection of body or mind furnishing at all times a ready excuse for any shifting of the standard of “moderation” from lower to a higher scale.

The utter inefficiency of such a Society, governed by so vague and indeterminate a standard as this led some of its first projectors to abandon it as hopeless ; and to form a new organization, based on the principle of abstaining wholly and entirely from every kind of drink, and every kind of substance—whether in the shape of spirits, wine, beer, opium or any other article—the use of which could produce that alienation of mind or aberration of intellect called intoxication, as the only safe, simple, intelligible, and efficient rule, in the interpretation of which there could be no mistake, and which would suit all temperaments, constitutions, ages, and occupations alike.

This Society soon took a firm position, and the principle on which it was founded was readily apprehended and appreciated, namely, a readiness to abandon the use of that which habit had rendered agreeable to them, if, by so doing they could, by their example, produce a large amount of good to others. Among the opponents to this principle were numbered a large portion of the clergy and ministers of religion, notwithstanding their avowed conviction "that drunkenness was one of the most prevalent vices of the land, and the source of most of the irreligion and profligacy that prevailed,"—nearly all the Legislators in both Houses of Parliament, as well as the Judges and Magistrates of the land, though they were cognizant of the fact "that drunkenness was the chief cause of all the crime committed in the country,"—a great portion of the medical profession, in spite of their admission "that intemperance produced more disease than any other cause that could be named,"—and financial and political economists, though they knew "that a greater waste of the public wealth was occasioned by the intemperate habits of the people than by nearly all other causes put together."

The members and advocates of this Society for promoting *entire abstinence* from all intoxicating drinks, were nevertheless not dismayed by this formidable phalanx of opposition, but pursued their course with that calm dignity and untiring perseverance which is characteristic of sincere conviction—adopting for their motto the well-

known maxim, that "Truth is mighty, and will prevail."

In order to bring the whole question in the most prominent manner before the British Public, and through it before the world at large, one of its earliest advocates, and the only member of the Society then holding a seat in Parliament—so few were the number of its practical disciples in high places—addressed the House of Commons, in a speech delivered on the 3rd of June, 1834, in which he pointed out the enormous amount of evil arising to the nation from the use of intoxicating drinks, and prayed the House to appoint a Select Committee, to be composed of the Representatives of all the various classes and interests in the kingdom, without distinction of religious or political opinions, to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of Intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any Legislative measures could be devised to prevent the further spread of so great National Evil.

This Committee was composed of thirty-eight members, and included some of the most eminent Statesmen of the Nation, as well as officers of the Navy and Army, merchants, land-owners, manufacturers, and representatives of all the several interests of the country. It extended its sittings from the 9th of June to the 28th of July, 1834: in the course of which, no less than fifty-eight witnesses were examined at great length, and these included

physicians and surgeons of the greatest experience, magistrates and officers of justice, ministers of religion and education, officers of the navy and army, and the mercantile marine, large landed proprietors, opulent merchants, extensive manufacturers, chemists, distillers, keepers of hotels and taverns, and labouring men in several departments of industry.

Never, perhaps, in the annals of Parliament, was a Committee composed of more eminent or more impartial members—never was there a greater variety of witnesses from all classes of society, and all professions in life, carefully examined—and never was there greater unanimity than in the conclusions to which the Committee came, in the Report which they ultimately founded on this evidence ; which was adopted and printed by order of the House of Commons, as well as the large body of evidence itself, forming a folio volume of several hundred pages. The conclusions to which the Committee came, after a careful examination of the evidence adduced before them, will be seen in a future portion of this volume : but a short abstract of them may be here presented, as follows :—

1. That the use of intoxicating drinks produces these painful consequences to the individuals who habitually consume them :—Disease in every variety of form ; stunted growth in the young, and premature decay and death in middle-age ; paralysis and idiotcy or imbecility in age ; as well as apoplexy, madness, suicide, and violent deaths at all periods,

by which more lives are wasted and destroyed in a single year—than in all the great battles of the last century put together !

2. That intoxicating drinks are the chief cause of the pauperism, prostitution, and crime, which fill the workhouses, asylums, prisons, hulks, and penitentiaries of the kingdom ;—and which require an enormous expense, in the maintenance of a police, and the machinery of prisons, and prison discipline, to restrain and repress.

3. That the greatest hinderance to the education of youth, to the promotion of morality among adults, and to the propagation and reception of Christian truths, in all ranks, at home and abroad, is the general and unnecessary use of intoxicating drinks.

4. That many millions of quarters of wholesome and nutritious fruits and grain, given by a bountiful Providence for the nutriment and support of man, as wheat, barley, rye, oats, rice, potatoes, grapes, dates, sugar, &c., are destroyed for all purposes of food, and converted by fermentation and distillation into noxious and destroying drinks.

5. That the loss of productive labour, (the chief source of national as it is of individual wealth,) in consequence of the idleness, sickness, debility, and incapacity, occasioned by the drinking usages of all classes, but especially the labouring portion of the community, may be fairly estimated at not less than one-sixth of their whole disposable time, or one day in each week, amounting in value to at

least £50,000,000 sterling, taking the lowest usual estimate of the productive power of the country at £300,000,000 annually.

6. That the destruction of property by sea and land, in shipwrecks, fires, incendiary or accidental, in robberies, bankruptcies, plunderings, waste and spoiling of goods, and in the extra amount of insurance necessary to cover such risks, even where such destructions do not occur, can hardly be less than an equal sum of £50,000,000 more.

7. That if to this be added the actual expenditure in intoxicating drinks, amounting to at least £50,000,000, according to the actual returns of the duty paid on such articles as revenue; and the cost of all the prisons, workhouses, lunatic and orphan asylums, hulks, penal colonies, criminal courts, law proceedings, county-rates, armed constabularies and police, and divers other indirect expences occasioned by the necessity of detecting and punishing crime, and supporting the destitute, even when their destitution is chiefly the result of their own intemperance and folly, which can hardly be less than £50,000,000 more;—we have a grand total of expence, direct and indirect, arising out of the use of intoxicating drinks, of £200,000,000 sterling, or a sum equal to four times the average revenue of the whole kingdom from every description of duty and tax whatever!

In addition to the important conclusions thus arrived at by the examination of the evidence produced; it was also abundantly proved that

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stimulating drinks, instead of giving strength, produce weakness—instead of promoting health, destroy it—and instead of quickening the intellectual faculties, ultimately deaden and paralyze them: the excitement produced by their use, however agreeable at the moment, always leading to a relapse and reaction, which produces the very opposite effect to that intended.

The publication of this evidence, and these conclusions, in a great variety of forms, and the comments which the Parliamentary proceedings elicited from the conductors of the public journals, whom nothing else could have induced to notice the subject at all, produced the very best effects, by giving more extensive publicity to the facts than would otherwise have been secured for them, and at the same time investing the subject with a dignity and importance with which a Parliamentary sanction could alone have clothed it at this early stage of its history.

In consequence of this, other enquiries have been instituted, and investigations made into matters connected with the causes and effects of the habits of using intoxicating drinks among all ranks and classes of mankind. Numerous Societies have been specially established, to promote, by precept and example, the practice of entire abstinence from all stimulating drinks. And in every locality in which such Societies have been planted, the almost universal testimony of the inhabitants is uniformly to the effect that they have produced the most

beneficial results on the health, finances, manners, condition, morals, and religious conduct of the members belonging to them.

Never, it is believed, in the history of the world, has there before been an example of so rapid and wide-spread an extension of a simple truth, and the adoption of a uniform rule of action for its practice and propagation, as in the present case, where a doctrine, or a principle, first publicly announced and professed about fifteen years ago, is now so extensively appreciated and embraced, and so faithfully acted upon by millions in every quarter of the globe, that the Sun in his course is never at any hour of the day passing over a space in which his benign rays do not illumine and bless some spot, in which a Temperance Society is reflecting its glorious light, and spreading within its happy circle the benefits of intelligence, morality, and prosperity.

Among the more recent triumphs of this holy cause, may be mentioned three most important tributes to its soundness and excellence:—the first, is the Medical Certificate, signed by more than two thousand of the most distinguished members of the Medical Profession in London and the Provinces;—the second is the Statistical Report read by Mr. G. R. Porter, of the Board of Trade, before the British Association for the promotion of Science at their recent meeting in Edinburgh;—and the third is the publication of the Volume “On the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors, in Health

and Disease, a Prize Essay," by Dr. W. B. Carpenter, M.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Examiner in Physiology in the University of London, and Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College— which Volume is dedicated by permission to His Royal Highness, Prince Albert ;—besides a number of highly useful, though comparatively less important works, on the chief causes of Juvenile depravity, prostitution, and pauperism, all of which are clearly traced to the fatal influence of intoxicating drinks.

Of the three more prominent Publications named, it is difficult to say to which to give pre-eminence, as to their utility, and the influence they are calculated to exercise on the public mind. An enlarged analysis of the whole would have been most satisfactory to the feelings of the writer, were it not incompatible with the limits to which it is thought desirable that this little volume should be confined.

The Medical Certificate is in the following terms :—

" We the undersigned, are of opinion—" 1. That a very large proportion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of Alcoholic or fermented liquors as beverages.

" 2. That the most perfect health is compatible with Total Abstinence from all intoxicating beverages whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, beer, ale, porter, cider, &c. &c.

" 3. That persons accustomed to such drinks

may, with perfect safety, discontinue them entirely, either at once or gradually, after a short time.

“4. That Total and Universal Abstinence from Alcoholic beverages of all sorts would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race.”

This Certificate bears the signatures of more than *two thousand* Medical Men, of all grades and degrees—from the Court Physicians, and leading Metropolitan Surgeons, who are conversant with the wants of the upper ranks of Society, to the humble Country Practitioner, who is familiar with the requirements of the artisan in his workshop and the labourer in the field; and such a document, signed by such competent authorities, must speak volumes to all reflecting minds.

The main purport of the Statistical Report read before the British Association for the Promotion of Science, was to show the enormous extent to which the British people inflicted a self-taxation on themselves, far exceeding in amount the whole taxation of the Government from every source united: and as this was founded on the most authentic sources of information, such a Report read before such a Society, and published in most of the Public Journals in the Kingdom, could hardly fail to have arrested the attention of thousands, not to be approached through any other channel, who, when they come to hear of such an annual sum as £77,000,000 sterling uselessly and mischievously

spent in strong drinks, snuff, and tobacco—stimulants which produce not the smallest particle of real benefit to those who consume them, while their habitual use inflicts positive injury on the parties themselves, and brings in its train a long suite of consequences of the most deplorable kind—must be convinced that the poverty and want of a large class of the labouring population is clearly attributable to their own ignorance, folly, and imprudence ; that if the millions thus passing through their hands, instead of being wasted in the purchase of this destroying poison, were accumulated in Savings' Banks, or laid out to purchase deferred annuities after a certain age, or put to useful and profitable account in any prudent way, not only might nearly all their present wants be supplied, but they might raise themselves, year by year, higher in the scale of rank and enjoyment—and at the approach of incapacity to labour from sickness or old age, have a fund in reserve to make them happy for the remainder of their days.

The volume of Dr. Carpenter is a masterly disquisition on the several questions proposed for solution in the following terms :—

“ 1st. What are the effects, corporeal and mental of alcoholic liquors on the healthy human system ?

“ 2nd. Does physiology or experience teach us that alcoholic liquors should form part of the ordinary sustenance of man, particularly under circumstances of exposure to severe labour, or to extremes of temperature ? or, on the other hand, is there reason for believing that such use of them is not sanctioned

by the principles of science, or by the results of practical observation ?

“3rd. Are there any special modifications of the bodily or mental condition of man, short of actual disease, in which the occasional or habitual use of alcoholic liquors may be necessary or beneficial ?

“4th. Is the employment of alcoholic liquors necessary in the practice of medicine ? If so, in what diseases, or in what form and stages of disease, is the use of them necessary or beneficial ?”

It will be seen that these questions embrace the whole subject, scientifically and physiologically considered ; and as the investigation of them has been conducted with the most rigid accuracy, the conclusions arrived at by the author are the more worthy of all confidence, especially as they have received the sanction of the eminent Physicians appointed as adjudicators of the Prize of one hundred guineas to be awarded to the Author of the best Essay that should be presented to them on this subject. These adjudicators were—Dr. John Foster, F.R.S., Physician to the Queen’s Household, to Prince Albert, and to the Duke of Cambridge ; Dr. G. L. Roupell, F.R.S., Physician to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital ; and Dr. H. M’Guy, M. B. Cantab. Professor of Forensic Medicine in King’s College, London—these gentlemen having selected the Essay of Dr. Carpenter as the best of fifteen presented to them by different writers. The conclusions arrived at are the following, in the order in which the questions stand :—

1. That alcohol is literally a poison, a large dose of which will produce death, a less quantity induce intoxication, or the deprivation of muscular power, as well as of reason, and consequently destroy both bodily and mental self-control; and that even the smallest or most moderate portion of it, when taken daily, whether through the medium of spirits-and-water, wine, or beer, is prejudicial to the healthy exercise of the animal functions, and by its morbid action likely to produce both acute and chronic disease.

2. That alcoholic drinks neither give strength to the labourer, nor offer any protection against the vicissitudes of temperature or climate; and therefore that they are wholly unproductive of benefit as part of the ordinary sustenance of man; and that the deductions of science and the experience of ordinary life equally concur in proving that neither in theory or in practice is their use beneficial, but on the contrary decidedly injurious.

3. That in cases of impaired power, either bodily or mental, not amounting to actual disease, these powers can not be permanently restored by the habitual use of alcoholic drinks: for though, in some cases of momentary languor or depression, a partial revival of energy may be produced by their action on the nervous system and the brain, they have always a remotely - injurious effect on the system, *per se*; and besides, tend to hide or mask the action of other morbid causes, and thus produce a double injury to the permanent health of those who use them.

4. That for the reasons above stated, it is the duty of the Medical Practitioner to discourage as much as possible the habitual use of Alcoholic Liquors, in however moderate a quantity, by all persons in ordinary health ; and to seek to remedy those slight derangements of the system, which result from the wear and tear of actual life, by means which shall most directly remove or antagonize their causes, instead of by such as merely palliate their effects. And that though extreme cases may occur, in which the medicinal application of Alcohol may be temporarily useful, as is the case with Arsenic and other well-known poisonous substances administered as drugs, the same care should be employed by the Medical Practitioner in selecting and distinguishing such cases, and in cautiously applying the remedy, as he would feel it his conscientious duty to do, in all similar cases of administering other poisonous doses.

Though the Essay of Dr. Carpenter was confined to an examination of the Physiological Questions submitted to his investigation, and his duty was strictly performed when he had wrought out the deductions to which his limited enquiry led ; yet, as a Philanthropist, he could not allow his Work to go forth from the press, without adding, that whilst there are adequate Medical reasons for abstinence from the habitual use of even a moderate quantity of Alcoholic Liquors, there are also strong *Moral* grounds for abstinence from that *occasional* use of them, which is too frequently thought to be

requisite for social enjoyment, and to form an essential part of the rites of hospitality. He expresses his belief that few, save those who have expressly inquired into the subject, have any idea of the extent of the *social evils* resulting from these uses, or of the degree in which they press upon every member of the community; and he concludes by expressing his belief that he is fully justified in the assertion, that among all those who *have* thus enquired, there is but one opinion as to the fact, that, of all the causes which are at present conspiring to degrade the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of the mass of the people, there is not one to be compared in potency with the use and abuse of Alcoholic Liquors; and that if this habit of using stimulating drinks, in all the various forms of spirit, wine, beer, cider, &c., could be entirely abandoned, by the rich as well as by the poor—the removal of all the other causes of disease, poverty, and crime which now afflicts the community, would be immeasurably promoted.

Plain and evident as the line of duty seems here to be indicated, there are, nevertheless, many professedly religious and benevolent persons who do not see it with sufficient distinctness to regulate their practice by its standard; and as they fortify their refusal to make the abandonment here recommended, by various arguments and fallacies, which seem, to their own minds, at least, sufficiently convincing, it may be well, before closing this Appeal, to notice a few of those

which are most confidently advanced and most implicitly relied on.

One of the most frequent arguments used by those who are unwilling to abandon for themselves the use of those stimulating drinks which habit has rendered agreeable to them, and which they so erroneously consider to be necessary to the promotion of social hilarity, is this—"That the abuse of a thing which is good in itself, does not afford a valid argument against the right use of it;" and again, "That because some people, by gluttony, cause to themselves disease and death, that is no reason why others should not moderately enjoy their food."

The first of these objections has been so well met, by the late venerable Archdeacon Jeffries, of Bombay, that Dr. Carpenter has wisely transferred his answer to it, to the pages of his admirable Prize Essay on the "Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Drinks." It is this—

"The truth is," he says, "that the adage of 'the abuse of a thing by some, being no argument against the right use of it by others,' is true only under certain limitations; and that beyond those limitations, so far from being true, it is a most mischievous fallacy. If it be found by experience, that in the general practice of the times in which we live, the abuse is only the *solitary exception*, whereas the right use of it is the *general rule*, and that the whole amount of *good* resulting from its right use, exceeds the whole amount of *evil* resulting from its partial abuse, then the article in question, whatever

it be, is fully entitled to the benefit of the adage. But, on the other hand, if it be found by experience that there is something so deceitful and ensnaring in the article itself, or something so peculiarly untoward connected with the use of it in the present age, that the whole amount of crime, misery, and wretchedness connected with the *abuse* of it greatly *exceeds* the whole amount of benefit arising from the right use of it, then the argument becomes a mischievous fallacy;—the article is not entitled to the benefit of it, and it becomes the duty of every good man to get rid of it.

“ With respect to the second objection, as to ‘the abuse of gluttony, and the consequent necessity of abstaining from the use of all food,’ the difference must be apparent to the dullest capacity. Not one individual in a hundred thousand is destroyed by excess of food: not a tenth part as many as lose their health and their lives by a deficiency of it; so that, applying Archdeacon Jeffries’ rule, the *good* done by the right use of food so far exceeds the *evil* arising from the abuse of it, as to preponderate infinitely on the side of the former. Besides which, food is essential to man’s existence, and he could not entirely abstain from its use without perishing; whereas alcoholic drinks are not at all necessary either to life or health, as millions of Asiatics, Africans, and native Americans know not the use of them, and preserve vigorous health without them; and the millions who now belong to total abstinence societies in the various countries of the globe, some

of whom have for twenty years, and the greater number for ten years, lived without tasting them, generally acknowledge that their health and strength, their serenity of mind, and capacity for both bodily and mental exertion are much greater now, than during the period of their *moderate use* of stimulating drinks, though they were then, of course, all much younger."

As to the common fallacy of supposing wines or other stimulating drinks to be "necessary to the promotion of hilarity, or the exercise of social hospitality," nothing can be more erroneous; their effect is indeed often the very reverse, as may be seen at most of the public banquets or entertainments, where, before the feast is terminated, some are sent to sleep by the soporific qualities of their drink, as porter and beer; others are rendered noisy, turbulent, and garrulous beyond endurance, by wine; and others again more irritable, fractious, and quarrelsome, by the more potent influence of spirits; while, to a sensible, sober spectator, the closing hours of such scenes are so revolting, from their screaming exuberation, or their drivelling folly, that if they have friends among them whom they love, they deeply regret the ludicrous exhibition which they make of themselves, when the wine is *in*, and the wisdom is *out*; when reason is driven from her throne, and folly reigns triumphant.

On the other hand, the public breakfasts, and public tea-parties, or soirées, now so happily supplanting the public dinners, in England and

Scotland at least, as well as in America, are remarkable for the most perfect order and decorum, from the commencement to the close ; and mainly owing to the absence of all alcoholic drinks. "The cups that cheer but not inebriate," are never taken to excess, because the appetite palls after its reasonable satisfaction, and to take more than enough would be repulsive : whereas it is one of the peculiar and fatal qualities of stimulating drinks, to create a thirst for more, in proportion to the quantity drank : the craving appetite increasing instead of diminishing, as the draught becomes more potent ; so that the cry of "one bottle more," is most loudly vociferated by those who have already had one bottle too much.

Most valuable auxiliary testimony has been recently rendered to the cause of total abstinence from stimulating drinks by the investigations made into the condition of the labouring classes, by Mr. Henry Mayhew, who was employed as a commissioner, by the proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle*, for this purpose. The result of his inquiries were published in a series of articles in that journal ; and Dr. Carpenter has availed himself of some of the more prominent facts, and incorporated them in an Appendix to his valuable volume. In these, it is shown, from the personal testimony of some of the coal-heavers, who are employed in discharging the coal-ships in the Thames—admitted by all who know anything of the subject, to be the most laborious occupation existing—that under the erroneous

impression of stimulants being necessary to enable them to sustain such heavy labour as theirs, it was the general practice among the men, to spend from ten to fifteen shillings per week in beer and gin ! nearly half the amount of their wages ; but that many among them, having become members of total abstinence societies, they had found themselves much better able to go through their heavy labours by the use of ordinary food, and either water, tea, or milk, for their drink : that their health was considerably better under the change, and that their surplus earnings, no longer spent in liquor, had made their homes comfortable, and their wives and children happy.

The records and experience of Total Abstinence Societies throughout the world, wherever they are established, fully corroborate these statements ; and a large volume might be filled with the evidence of individuals who, while they used alcoholic drinks, *even in moderation*, were subject to interrupted health, frequent depression of spirits, and great pecuniary difficulties ; whereas, since their abandonment of these and their entire disuse of all stimulants whatever, they were stronger in body, more cheerful in mind, better off in pocket, and far more disposed to assist in works of benevolence and in the duties of religion, than at any previous portion of their lives ; that they were, in short, made healthier, richer, better, and happier in every respect, by the change.

The following paragraph (p. 229) from Dr. Car-

penter's Essay, will sufficiently explain the physiological cause of this beneficial change. He says—

“It is through the medium of the *water* contained in the Animal Body, that all its functions are carried on. No other liquor than water can act as a solvent for the various articles which are taken into the stomach. It is water alone which forms all the fluid part of the blood, and thus serves to convey the nutritive material through the *minutest* capillary pores into the substance of the solid tissues. It is water, which, when mingled in various proportions with the solid components of the various textures, gives to them the consistence which they severally require. And it is water which takes up the products of their decay, and conveys them by a most complicated and wonderful system of sewerages, altogether out of the system. It would seem *most improbable*, then, that the habitual admixture of any other fluid—especially of one which like Alcohol, possesses so marked a physical, chemical, and vital influence upon the other component parts of the Animal Body, can be otherwise than injurious in the great majority of cases.”

As a striking proof of the influence already excited by the diffusion of such facts as these, and of the exertions of the Total Abstinence Societies during the last fifteen years, in effecting a beneficial change in the habits and customs of society, we are able to adduce the following evidence from statistical reports and police docu-

ments, derived from the Revenue Returns of the government.

In 1836, the amount of spirits, wine, and beer, which paid duty, (exclusive of all smuggled or illicitly-distilled drinks), was 624 millions of gallons; but in 1850, though the population had increased four millions in the interval, the consumption was reduced to 583 millions of gallons, being an actual *decrease* of 41 millions of gallons, and a proportionate decrease of more than twice that amount.

On the other hand, the use of non-stimulating drinks has *increased* in a similar ratio. In 1836, the consumption of coffee, tea, and cocoa, amounted to 61 millions of pounds weight, while in 1850, the consumption had advanced to 88 millions, being an increase of 27 millions of pounds weight.

In comparing these results with the history of the consumption of intoxicating drinks in the fifteen years *before* the Total Abstinence Societies began their operations, the difference is most striking. In 1821, for instance, the consumption of spirits, wines, and beer, amounted to 44 millions of gallons. In 1835, it had reached to 83 millions, or nearly double; so that even admitting the proper proportion of increase for the increase of population during that interval, it would be an *augmentation* of at least more than 50 per cent.; whereas the amount having from 1836 to 1850 fallen from 624 millions to 583 millions, makes a *decrease* of nearly 20 per cent.

These results are as important as they are surprising, and must be matter of congratulation to all who have taken part in the Temperance Reformation, as showing the silent but sure progress of truth when opposed to error; and the following observations, from the *Bristol Temperance Herald*, in which these valuable statistics first appeared, are well sustained, and deserve republication.

“The Total Abstinence Reformation commenced a little before 1835, and we can fairly attribute the extraordinary change in our drinking customs to the persevering labours which have been unceasingly bestowed since that time in pointing out the baneful effects of alcoholic stimulants on the human constitution; and more especially in arousing the national conscience to a sense of the awful evils resulting from their use. If the public have not to a great extent practised *Total Abstinence*, it is evident they have taken many steps in that direction. That the Temperance Reformation has not, as yet, materially affected the lowest and most degraded classes of society, is undoubted; and hence, to the superficial observer, it would seem that but little has been really effected. We may, however, refer triumphantly to the above figures, in proof that a change has taken place in the habits of our countrymen, which may fairly be regarded as an earnest of the ultimate success of our great cause. If, by the concurrent testimony of our judges, magistrates, and others in official stations, it appears that by far the larger portion

of the crime and misery that abound throughout our land, results from the use of intoxicating drinks, we appeal to all Christian professors and philanthropists, whether a Society that may be considered as having been mainly instrumental in bringing about the above results, is not entitled to their zealous and earnest support ?”

To this we may add, that while, in America and Great Britain, the Governments of the respective countries have either entirely abolished, or considerably diminished the rations of spirits supplied to the seamen in the navy; the Commander-in-Chief of the army has suppressed the usual garrison canteens, and encouraged, both in the mother-country and the colonies, the general disuse of stimulating drinks; while the mercantile marine of both countries have now a large number of vessels sailing to all climates, from the icy circle to the torrid zone, without issuing spirits for the use of the crew, and all parties bearing testimony to the benefit of the change, in every point of view. In the same conviction of the dangers likely to accrue to the public peace and the general comfort, by any temptations to intemperance, and the great benefit to all classes by entire abstinence from the use of all stimulating and intoxicating drinks, the Royal Commissioners for the superintendence of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations have wisely prohibited their sale in the Refreshment Rooms of the building, and thus given the high sanction of their example and authority to their disuse.

Let us hope, therefore, that with the increasing respect shown to the principles and practice of Temperance in those ranks of society into which they have been found the most difficult to penetrate, there will be increased energy and zeal among the earliest friends of this great cause, to promote the success of their holy mission, by renewed efforts to extend its benefits to all ranks and classes, and through all nations to the uttermost ends of the earth.

If one of the greatest sources of human happiness is the being employed in doing good, and advancing the welfare of our fellow-creatures, it is impossible to imagine a mode by which so much good could be done by so small an expenditure of either time or money, as by the wide diffusion of the important truths herein recorded : and since there is no part of Christendom in which there are not to be found many victims suffering from the use and abuse of intoxicating drinks—no community in which crime, disease, and poverty are not clearly traceable to this cause—there must be everywhere a field for introducing the reformation which is within the power of every individual to promote. And as our blessed Saviour illustrated the great duty of loving our neighbours as ourselves, by narrating the history of the Good Samaritan, who, when he found a stranger that had fallen among thieves, and was lying wounded and bleeding by the way, took him on his own horse, conveyed him to an inn, and left money for his recovery and support till he was enabled to resume

his labour ;—so we may hope that the readers to whom these pages are addressed, may, without much search, discover many such unhappy victims of Intemperance in their own town or neighbourhood, as much objects of compassion as the wounded traveller described ; and who, like him, having fallen among thieves, have been first deprived of their reason by intoxicating drinks, and then stripped and robbed, and left exhausted and helpless by the way. Regarding, therefore, the conduct of the Good Samaritan as being recorded for our instruction, we say to each individual, male or female, high or low, who may have reached thus far in their examination of the subject, in the language of the Saviour, “ Go thou and do likewise,” and great shall be thy reward.

NOTE.

THE following Documents have been published at previous periods, and on different occasions, but as they will in all probability be new to the greater number of those for whose perusal this little Volume is specially designed, it has been thought well to include them within its limits : more especially as the subjects are therein presented under varied points of view. It is hoped thus to increase the chances of their carrying conviction to different classes of individuals ; it being a well-known law of our nature, that one description of facts and arguments weighs most with some minds, and another description with others ; and as it is our earnest desire to embrace all classes as far as practicable, the greater the variety of aspects under which the subject can be presented, the more successfully will that object be likely to be attained.

*** Some discrepancies will appear in the *paging* of the Sheets, from changes in the arrangement of the matter after the Work had been first sent to the press : but the reading will be consecutive and continuous as the Sheets are now placed.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the President of the United States since the year 1789. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and the years of their election are given in parentheses.

George Washington (1789)
John Adams (1797)
Thomas Jefferson (1801)
James Madison (1809)
James Monroe (1817)
John Quincy Adams (1825)
Andrew Jackson (1829)
Martin Van Buren (1837)
William Henry Harrison (1841)
Francis Pickens (1857)
Abraham Lincoln (1861)
Andrew Johnson (1865)
Ulysses S. Grant (1869)
Rutherford B. Hayes (1877)
James A. Garfield (1881)
Chester A. Arthur (1881)
Grover Cleveland (1885)
Benjamin Harrison (1889)
William McKinley (1897)
Theodore Roosevelt (1901)
William Howard Taft (1909)
Woodrow Wilson (1913)
Warren G. Harding (1921)
Calvin Coolidge (1923)
Herbert Hoover (1929)
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933)
Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953)
John F. Kennedy (1961)
Lyndon B. Johnson (1963)
Richard M. Nixon (1969)
Jimmy Carter (1977)
Ronald Reagan (1981)
George H. W. Bush (1989)
Bill Clinton (1993)
George W. Bush (2001)
Barack Obama (2009)
Donald Trump (2017)

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of the Vice President of the United States since the year 1789. The names are arranged in alphabetical order, and the years of their election are given in parentheses.

APPEAL
TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE,
AND
Especially to the Opulent and Influential,
ON
THE GREATEST REFORM YET TO BE
ACCOMPLISHED.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

THE age in which we live is called the Age of Reform, and among the nations of the earth, England takes the foremost rank amongst Reformers. The wise and the good in all countries look to it for example, and in most instances look to it with hope ; but there is one Giant Evil yet to be reformed, in which its example is more pernicious than beneficial, and in which its national influence has created so vast an amount of injury, that all its energies should be put forth at once, and without an hour's delay, to remove the blot from its otherwise bright escutcheon.

As a people, you are intelligent—the world admits it : but, much as you have learnt, and great

as is the superiority you manifest, in arts, in science, and in commerce, you are yet, as far as the majority of your numbers is concerned, steeped in the profoundest ignorance as to the extent of injury sustained by you all, in a greater or lesser degree, by what you deem the “innocent” and “moderate” use of intoxicating drinks.

As a people, you are wealthy—no other people on the globe are your equals in this:—but, in no country on earth is so large a portion of that wealth utterly wasted and destroyed, as it is by usages and customs prevalent among you, in all ranks of society, from the cottage to the palace—by all ages, in all professions, of both sexes, and among all conditions of men.

As a people, you are courageous—your history has proved it:—but there is one Foe you have not courage to front, whom you shrink from attacking—and before whose sway you bend in dread and homage—the tyrant, Fashion.

As a people, you are free:—none perhaps really freer;—but amidst all your boasted freedom, you are slaves to a habit which holds you in fetters more closely riveted than those which manacle the African; for while you have broken his chains to pieces, you still wear your own, apparently unconscious of the bondage.

As a people, you are benevolent, moral, religious;—your numerous institutions and munificent subscriptions everywhere proclaim it;—but you nevertheless seem to be unmoved by a sweeping torrent

of destruction, rolling over every part of your otherwise beautiful and happy country, which mars your benevolence, outrages all morality, and is the greatest stumbling-block to pure religion that has ever obstructed its heavenly path.

These are severe rebukes, I admit ; but are they just ? are they true ? If so, their severity is kindness, and their utterance will be mercy, should they awaken you to a sense of the incalculable and indescribable evils under which thousands of your fellow-countrymen and countrywomen—nay, even thousands of young children—still labour ; evils which it is entirely within your power almost instantly to remove ; and for the further continuance of which, you are, therefore, in a great degree responsible.

Let us reason together a little on this subject, till the light of truth shall gradually become visible to you :—

It has been proved by Parliamentary evidence,—sifted, examined, and scrutinized, but never yet confuted or denied,—that the actual expenditure of money, in Great Britain alone, exclusive of all her Colonies, in the mere purchase of intoxicating drinks, exceeds fifty millions sterling ! a sum greater than the whole revenue of the kingdom, from every available source.

Does this vast expenditure make any one stronger, or healthier, than if he abstained entirely from its use ? The united intelligence of the most enlightened and eminent Medical Men of the country answer NO !—and out of a long list of those who

have so answered, by their signatures to a public document expressing this, it will be enough to mention the names of Sir James Clark, Sir James Macgrigor, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Sir William Burnett, Drs. Chambers, Paris, Bright, Copeland, Forbes, Latham, Bostock, Guy, Key, Elliotson, and a host of others, including the very heads of the medical profession.

Does it make any one more industrious, or capable of enduring greater labour? The uniform testimony of landed proprietors, merchants, manufacturers, and employers of large bodies of men, in agriculture, trade, mining, in fleets, in armies, in isolated labour or in co-operative force, answer NO! On the contrary, they prove that it produces idleness, to such a degree, as that, on an average of the whole working community, one-sixth part of their time, or one day in every week, is wasted and expended, by drinking usages and indulgencies; and that another fifty millions sterling are therefore lost to the whole nation by the suppression or stagnation of so much productive power: while the sickness and debility occasioned by intemperance, both in parents and their progeny, adds considerably to this loss of efficient labour and production, great as it already is.

Does it improve the intellect, or increase the skill of any living being? All experience answers NO! It renders some stupid, others self-willed and obstinate, some vain and conceited, and others furious and demoniacal: but of patient learning, practised

skill, and calm and deliberate wisdom, it never imparted an atom. It makes present idiots and future lunatics, but it makes no man wiser or more competent to the discharge of any of the great duties of life.

Does it make men more moral, women more chaste, or children more truthful and honest? Alas! in no one instance has it ever done this. Stimulating drink is every hour the exciting cause of nearly all the crimes that fill our prisons, that people our penal colonies, and that supply the executioner for the gallows. Strong drink is the parent of nearly all the mutinies in the navy, and insubordinations in the army; and almost all the tortures of flogging and every other species of naval and military punishment is clearly traceable to this single cause. Stimulating drink is the powerful agent used to facilitate seductions, adulteries, and the daily violations of chastity, in thought, word, and deed: and the inmates of every female asylum, with one united voice, will answer, that, but for the use of reason-drowning drink, their betrayers would never have succeeded in depriving them of all that rendered life valuable, their hitherto unspotted honour; and that but for the same conscience-searing poison, they would have returned again, repentant, to the bosom of society; their expulsion from which, as outcasts, was owing to the criminal conduct of others; but, in the delirium produced by drink, they find their only solace, by steeping their unutterable woes in temporary oblivion. And for children—in every

country emblems of purity and innocence, in every religion personifying angels of bliss and glory—oh! let it be written in burning tears of mingled grief and shame—children are every day, in every town and village, in every hovel, and in every mansion, trained, by their blind and unthinking parents, to acquire an appetite for this destroying poison every time that it is given to them by the maternal hand (which should never dispense aught but blessings)—as a reward for good behaviour—as something to gratify them and do them good!—or, when seating them at the table, and bidding them drink the healths of those around, to elevate them for the moment to the dignity of little men and women: never dreaming that in after life, this taste, first sanctioned and fostered by parental example, and meant, no doubt in kindness, may, by a subsequent vicious indulgence, bring these originally pure and innocent children to the last stage of dishonour and degradation, a drunkard's grave—a fate that never could befall them, if they never tasted this insidious poison.

Here, then, are fifty millions of money actually spent, and fifty millions' worth of valuable time and productive labour wasted, without adding to the health, strength, capacity, skill, intellect, wealth, virtue, morality, or religion, of any single being. Is this the conduct of a nation calling itself wise? Will it be endured for a moment longer by a people calling themselves free? Shall it be quailed before, as an unconquerable evil, by a people calling them-

selves brave? If so, let them abandon all these titles, and submit to be considered the weakest and feeblest of mankind.

But, if I have proved to you what this expenditure and waste of one hundred millions sterling does *not* accomplish; let me, for a moment, enumerate a few of the proved and admitted evils which it brings in its deadly train.

It fills, not merely our workhouses, but the damp cellars, and obscure courts and alleys, of every town in the kingdom, with ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed, sickly, and miserable occupants, whose sunken eyes, and pallid cheeks, and shrivelled limbs, and bending forms, betoken premature age, suffering, and decay; while the stunted growth, the ragged garments, and the famished looks of their little children, cry aloud to Heaven for mercy, and to us for help and rescue.

It fills our prisons with criminals, our hulks with convicts, and our penal colonies with the outcasts of society, there to spread the British language and British name; and there, in many instances, to corrupt the aborigines of distant lands, and make them more degraded by the vices of civilization than they were before by the barbarism of savage life.

It fills our streets with prostitutes, more numerous than in any other country in the world; and turns the young, the innocent, the beautiful, and often the most confiding, generous, and interesting of their sex, into the most degraded and unhappy of human beings.

It inflicts upon the nation, a cost—to maintain its system of poor-laws, with all its complex machinery—to build and support its prisons, and penitentiaries, asylums, hospitals, hulks, and penal colonies, its police at home, and its establishments abroad—of many millions annually.

It destroys property as well as life, in shipwrecks and fires at sea, in spoilings and waste, in intentional and accidental fires and destructions by land, a large proportion of which is clearly traceable to the drunken carelessness of some, or the wilful incendiarism of others ; and it hinders the successful accomplishment of undertakings, which, in sober and discreet hands, would meet a different fate : the united cost of which, taken altogether, amounts to many millions more.

Here, then, are Evils, more extensive in their destruction of life and property, and more obstructive of human happiness and improvement, than all the wars that were ever waged—than all the plagues, pestilences, and famines that ever swept the earth—than all the slavery that was ever perpetrated—or all the monopolies that ever existed. And shall we remain unmoved amidst this general wreck, when so simple and practical a remedy is in every man's hand ?—needing no combination of wealth to effect, nor organization of Societies to carry out, nor Acts of Parliament to enforce—costing nothing but the single resolution of a moment, which we should for ever hide our heads in shame, if we have not the virtue or the courage to make.

Every humane and generous heart that can feel for the woes of others, every mind that is not steeped in the lowest depths of sensuality and selfishness, eagerly enquires :—"What is the remedy?"—To abolish so great an evil—to promote so great a good—every voice exclaims "Tell it me—and I will instantly adopt it."

Let not its simplicity startle you. All great truths are simple. The sublimest acts of the Deity are simple—"Let there *be* light : and there *was* light"—is the eloquent record of the great act of creating the glorious universe, and building up and binding all the starry firmament in the harmony of motion through infinity of space.—"God is Love," is the simple definition of the ever-adorable Deity.—"Love your neighbour as yourself," is the blessed Saviour's simple but comprehensive catalogue of all our human duties : for "on this," and "the love of God," said his divine lips, "hang all the law and the prophets."

Our remedy for this Giant Evil has the same characteristic simplicity.—May it have the same high sanction, and emphatic force !—It is merely this, **ABANDON ALL INTOXICATING DRINKS.**—Nothing more is needed; and *this* is in every one's power. Millions of people in India and China, in Asia and Africa, have lived for ages, as Hindoos, Buddhists, and Mohammedans—in burning plains, on snowy mountains—in lives of sedentary study, in labours of active toil—with no stronger drink than water—the oldest, purest, brightest, sweetest,

healthiest, and, for all these reasons, given by God as the most abundant fluid, to quench the thirst, and assist in the nutriment of all his creatures. Millions of people in America, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in all our Colonies, have now—some, like myself for twenty years, and others for periods of fifteen, ten, and five years consecutively—proved its superiority to every other fluid as a beverage, in strengthening the body, invigorating the mind, calming the passions, giving firmness to the character—increasing, in short, the health, wealth, and enjoyment, in every way, of those who have made the change, who have given up entirely the use of wine, beer, spirits, and alcoholic drinks in every form, without once repenting the change.

We ask you then, to try the same experiment :—we know by experience what will be the result. Banish it from your tables—expel it from your houses—root it out from wherever your influence extends—and the whole Nation will, on the following day, begin to be regenerated ! Your banquets need not be the less hospitable : but let purer tastes and more wholesome appetites be gratified : and if all will cease to use intoxicating drinks—no man will need it for his guests, any more than for himself.

Let the Women of England begin this great work, and the men must follow. Let the flushed cheek and glaring eye, the unsteady hand, the parched lip and foul breath, which wine, spirits, beer, and other intoxicating drinks engender in the

man, be shamed by the frown, or withered by the scorn, of the chaste and beautiful maidens and matrons of Albion. Let their own purity and loveliness never more be tainted by the unhallowed touch of the wine-bibber and inhaler of the fumes of uncleanness and corruption. And oh ! let the holy and angelic innocence of their children never come within the atmosphere of this pollution !

Christians and Patriots ! Arise in the majesty of your strength—and stay this desolating plague, before another sun shall set upon your existence.—Resolve to-day, that the insidious and useless cup shall be no more filled for you. To-morrow endeavour to persuade your nearest and dearest friends to do the same. In a single week after this, some portion of the fifty millions now spent in useless and destroying drink will be diverted into different channels :—some portion of the fifty millions lost by idleness and waste will cease to be so destroyed ; some portion of the millions more expended for the support of hospitals, prisons, hulks, police, and penitentiaries, will be set free for other uses :—and in a year, when one hundred millions might, by your abstinence alone, be made available for other expenditure, in food, clothing, education, books, arts, sciences, benevolence, and religion, there need be no man, woman, or child, in all the British dominions, wanting either, as far at least as means to furnish all to them exist. When every idle drunkard, now maintained by the labour of the industrious workman, is converted into a producer of wealth

by his own labour and a consumer of the articles made by others, and when every family shall expend what they now waste in stimulating drinks, in some other useful and honourable mode of sustaining the native industry of the country, and giving it the best protection it can enjoy, it is impossible to exaggerate the actual physical benefits which must be conferred on every class, and equally impossible to over-rate the moral and religious improvement that must follow in its train. Yet, vast as would be this change, it may speedily be accomplished, if you and others will simply **ABSTAIN FROM THE USE OF THESE DRINKS**, and assist to banish them from the community.

You have *will* enough, and *power* enough, to effect every conquest and every reform needed, if your intelligence and influence be but exercised aright; but your entire history furnishes a continued series of proofs of how this will and power has been hitherto mis-directed.

You have spent millions to conquer India and humble China, and sent up your thanksgivings to Heaven for your victories; but, amidst all your boasted triumphs, you are either not able, or not willing, to achieve the far nobler conquest of rooting out the opium traffic of the East, or the rum traffic, gin traffic, and beer traffic of the West—a conquest that would cost you neither lives nor money, but be a saving and improvement of both.

You have obtained a great change in the constitution of your Parliament: but the system of treat-

ing and bribing, chiefly by means of intoxicating drinks, which makes drunken electors prefer profligate expenditure in a Representative to every other virtue, is still unreformed.

You have carried the question of an ultimate free trade in corn, and commenced the work of a comparatively free trade in sugar; but you have done nothing to prevent the perversion of millions of quarters of grain from wholesome food to poisonous drink, or the extraction, from nutritious sugar, of demoralizing and destroying rum.

You have given twenty millions sterling to secure freedom to less than one million of oppressed Africans, and maintain an armed force for the suppression of the slave-trade; but you not only offer no aid, you look on with indifference and apathy, upon a slavery of so-called free Englishmen, which embraces *many* millions in its thralldom; and which, in the case of its more unhappy victims who sink to a drunkard's grave, is far worse than any other bondage, as it kills both body and soul.

You send abroad missionaries and distribute bibles in heathen lands; but you do nothing to arrest the exportation, sale, and use, of that which destroys all Christian teaching, by the pernicious influence of Christian example; the Hindoo and the Mahomedan, in their superior sobriety, looking down upon your ministers with contempt, as drinkers of the maddening and forbidden liquor, which they are too pure to touch.

You seek to reform your criminal code and abo-

lish capital punishments, to improve prison discipline, and provide for the children of convict parents; but you permit, and encourage by your custom and example, the manufacture, sale, and use of the principal instrument in the production of crime; the entire withdrawal of which from consumption would render most of these efforts unnecessary.

You are moved to compassion by the slaughter of an Indian battle, a single murder, or a railway accident; but you see, unmoved, thousands of victims reeling and staggering through your streets, with decaying frames, to the grave — and some daily perishing by violence, delirium tremens, and other awful forms of death.

You are eager to abolish flogging in the navy and army: public meetings are called, and Parliament is invoked, because a sailor is condemned to be hung at Cork for striking his superior officer, and a soldier is flogged to death for the same offence at Hounslow; but neither in the Parliament, nor by the press, neither at public dinners, nor in private parties, do you hear a word uttered against the use of that maddening drink which excited both these unhappy men to commit the unreflecting indiscretions of which they were guilty, and under the influence of which, had any of us been in their places, we should, in all probability, have done the same thing. Against which, then, should be your horror or your indignation directed? Not against the officers who ordered these punishments, for that was done in due form of law, and by regularly con-

stituted tribunals:—not against the men who inflicted the lash, for they but obeyed the orders of their superiors;—Against the Legislature, if you will, for permitting such brutalizing punishments to remain lawful for an hour; but still more against the makers, vendors, and licensers of the accursed drink, without which, the insubordinations would never have been manifested, nor the punishments of flogging or hanging be inflicted. Yet on this part of the subject a profound and universal silence is maintained, as if a sense of guilty participation in the crime and its consequences, on the part of all who encourage drinking by their example, sealed your lips: such is the obliquity of your vision—such the obtuseness or wilful blindness of your understandings!

Arouse, then, from your lethargy, O People of England! you, who in your national anthem proudly swell the chorus that “Britons never will be slaves;” arise! awake!—Emancipate yourselves from this thralldom, and prove yourselves as mighty to save as you have been hitherto powerful to destroy.

Princes, Nobles, and Gentry! you to whom the high trust is given, to be a terror to evil-doers, and friends and protectors to those who do well—you, to whom your humbler dependants look up for example and advice!—How many of your highest ranks, even from the most ancient to the latest ennobled of your order, have dishonoured themselves, and disgraced their titled dignity, by intemperance?

Yet for you, as for all others, emptiness and vanity, disease and accelerated age, are the fruits of its indulgence: benefits innumerable to yourselves and others will flow from its disuse.

Men of Property! living on your rentals, of houses, lands, and funds!—Consider how your incomes are reduced, by the losses, taxes, rates, and contributions, which the drinking usages of society, and its immense expenditure of millions, involves.

Legislators, magistrates, ministers of religion, teachers of youths, parents and guardians of both sexes!—Reflect, for a moment, how all your generous aspirations for the happiness of those committed to your care are thwarted and destroyed, by habits which you sanction by your personal adoption; and which, if you will only discontinue, those subject to your authority and influence will also speedily lay aside.

Merchants, traders, artisans, and labourers!—Ask yourselves what injury is occasioned to all the several branches of productive industry which you follow—by the absorption of fifty millions spent in drink, and fifty millions wasted in loss? What would be the demand for your productions, and the wages of your labour, if these one hundred millions could be annually expended among you all?

Authors, publishers, editors, and all engaged in literary undertakings—Think, for an instant, what would be the change to you, if every child in the kingdom were well-educated, every parent sober, in every house a little library, magazine, and news-

paper!—for mental wants are even more powerful than corporeal ones, when the appetite is once trained to their joyous indulgence; and in a universally sober nation, each of these, the physical and intellectual, would have their due and allotted share.

Sound then, your loudest trumpets of alarm, ye Watchmen of the day and night, ye Morning and Evening Messengers of Instruction, and Weekly and Monthly Heralds of the Press—by whose hands the pen should be wielded for higher objects of good than the mere temporary triumphs of evanescent fame. Proclaim it from the watch-towers on which you stand as Sentinels, that the enemy is not merely at our gates, but in our camp:—that the most alarming and devouring fire that ever raged within our borders, is consuming bodies and souls at every corner of our streets, yet no engines are hastening to extinguish them:—that all the hail-storms that ever fell have never shattered and destroyed so many fragile frames as poisonous drink is breaking up and withering every hour, and yet no workmen are called in to arrest or repair the evil:—that the interiors of the gin-palaces, beer-shops, and brothels of England, are infinitely more impure than our streets, and that filth, disease, and misery, revel in these chambers of death; yet no machinery, moral or mechanical, is set on foot to cleanse them: so that, while our well-paved and well-swept avenues of traffic and pleasure are clean as the whited sepulchre without—yet, within their desecrated and unhallowed walls, corruption and decay still riot unmolested.

The theme is endless, if it could be pursued. But here, at least, it cannot be. Yet, enough, it is hoped, has been said, to rouse all who read, to think, to examine, and to judge for themselves; and having so thought, examined, and judged, let them act immediately on their decision, by putting aside, at once, within their own families, at least, the use of every kind of stimulating drink—making the experiment for a few months only, so as to watch its effects,—and, surely, no man will confess himself so poor in virtuous resolution, so weak in self-command, so enslaved by custom and fashion, as not to be able and willing to do this.

If any one ask, “Why should I, who use these drinks in moderation, give up even the slight enjoyment which their use affords me,”—the answer is, “Because, as the Ocean itself is made up of minute drops, so the fifty millions abstracted from the general fund of national wealth—and the fifty millions lost by idleness and waste—is made up of yours and every other family’s small portions of the consumption; but, above all, because the example of the respectable classes of society, in using these drinks at all, is constantly urged by the poor as a justification of their using them also; and it is only by the moderate use at first that the most abandoned drunkards and criminals are made, since no one becomes so but by degrees. In the spirit, therefore, of the Great Apostle, who said, “It is good neither to drink wine, nor to do anything whereby thy brother stumbleth or is made weak,” and in

conformity with the example and precept of our Divine Lord and Master, enjoining us to "love our neighbours as ourselves, and do good unto all men," wherever and whenever the opportunity is afforded to us—let all who call themselves Christians, Philanthropists, or Patriots, try but this slight experiment—the simplest REMEDY for the most destructive PESTILENCE that ever afflicted mankind; and if they will but do this, the greatest VICTORY of GOOD over EVIL that has ever yet been achieved by moral means since the creation of the world, will be speedily and easily accomplished. Who, then, would not feel joy inexpressible, at being instrumental, in the smallest degree, to this GREATEST OF ALL REFORMS that yet remains to be accomplished?

I am, your friend and fellow-countryman,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

STANHOPE LODGE, UPPER AVENUE ROAD,

ST. JOHN'S WOOD, *London, June 24th, 1851.*

NOTE.

It may, perhaps, with some minds, give additional force to the facts and reasonings presented in the foregoing Appeal, if it can be shown, that they are the result of careful investigation, much experience, and deliberately-formed judgment; and not taken up hastily, to serve a momentary purpose. To convey such conviction, there will follow this, the Report of a Speech delivered in the British House of Commons, and the Report of its Committee, with a List of their Names, and those of the Witnesses examined seventeen years ago, when the subject was scarcely thought of by any class of society; but since which, happily, millions have become sensible of its importance, though millions more remain to be convinced. May this effort assist towards that important and desirable issue!

SPEECH OF MR. BUCKINGHAM,
ON THE
EXTENT, CAUSES, AND EFFECTS OF
DRUNKENNESS,

Delivered in the House of Commons on Tuesday, June 3, 1834.

(FROM THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.)

SIR,—In rising to call the attention of the House to the motion of which I have given notice, for a Select Committee to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the great increase of habitual Drunkenness among the labouring classes of this kingdom, and to devise legislative measures to prevent its further spread, I am so fully sensible of the difficulty of the task, that nothing but a strong conviction of its public importance would have induced me to undertake it. In the expositions which it will be my painful duty to make, I can scarcely fail to encounter the hostility of those who profit largely by the demoralization, of which they are both the cause and the support. In suggesting the remedies which I shall venture to propose, I foresee the opposition of a large class of persons interested in maintaining the existing state of things in all its force; while, from those who have no pecuniary interests involved in the inquiry, but who contend—conscientiously, perhaps—that all legislation on such a sub-

ject is mischievous, and that the evil should be left to work its own cure, I shall have to endure the imputation of cant and puritanism, in affecting a higher regard for morality than others, of officious meddling, and oppressive interference with the rights of property, and the enjoyments of the labouring classes. For all this I am prepared ; and yet, in the face of all this, I shall firmly persevere in my original intention. Not that I am indifferent either to the rights of property, or to the enjoyments of my fellow-men ; and the humbler their class, the more sacredly should their rights and enjoyments be guarded from legislative suppression ; but after years of mature deliberation—after some reading, much reflection, and still more practical experience, grounded on extensive personal observation of the present condition of society in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which, within the last five years, has brought me into close intercourse with many thousands of all ranks and classes, my conviction is as strong as it is sincere, that of all the single evils that afflict our common country, the increased and increasing prevalence of Drunkenness among the labouring classes, including men, women, and children, is the greatest ;—that it is not only an evil of the greatest magnitude in itself, but that it is the source of a long and melancholy catalogue of other evils springing directly from its impure fountain ;—and as its daily operation is to sap the very foundations of social happiness and domestic enjoyment, my conviction is, that he who may be instrumental

in arresting its fatal progress, will be conferring an inestimable benefit on his country, and rendering a valuable service to mankind. (*Hear, hear.*)

Under this conviction, I propose, Sir, with the indulgence of the House, to direct its attention to some few of the causes which appear to me to have been most powerfully operative in extending the increase of Drunkenness, and to some few of the baneful effects which it produces, not merely on its immediate victims, but on the best interests of society at large. I shall then, I hope, be able to adduce sufficient reasons to show that legislative interference is imperatively demanded to check the evil—that it is justified by precedent and analogy—and that it will produce the end desired. After this, I will submit to the House the steps which appear to me most likely to operate as immediate checks, as well as others more appropriate to be considered as ulterior remedies for an evil which it is desirable first to arrest in its present progress; and then, if possible, to root it out and extirpate it entirely.

Of the fact of the increase of Drunkenness among the labouring classes of the country, I think there will be no doubt. But if there should, a reference to the reports of the police cases, published in any town of the United Kingdom, will be more than sufficient to remove such doubts; and if to this be added the evidence furnished by the records of our criminal courts of session or assize, and by the coroner's inquests, hospital returns, and other public documents, accessible to all, the most irresistible

proof will be produced, to show that Intemperance, like a mighty and destroying flood, is fast overwhelming the land. I content myself with two short extracts of evidence on this subject from very different quarters, which I have selected from a mass of others, because they are the shortest and the most recent, not written to serve any special purpose, and above all question as to their authenticity. The first is from the latest official Report of the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum, at Hanwell, as published in the *Times* of the present month, and is as follows :

“GIN DRINKING.—The seventy-six deaths which have occurred in the year, have been, with the exception of those who have died from advanced age, principally caused by the disease of the brain, of the lungs, and the complaints brought on by those deadly potions of ardent spirits, *in which the lower classes seem more than ever to indulge*. In a very great number of the recent cases, both amongst men and women, the insanity is caused entirely by spirit-drinking. This may, in some measure, be attributed to the young not being taught to consider the practice disgraceful, and to their being tempted, by the gorgeous splendour of the present gin-mansions, to begin a habit which they never would have commenced had they been obliged to steal, fearful of being observed, into the obscurity of the former dram-shops.”

The second document to which I beg to draw the special attention of the House, is one of the most appalling, perhaps, that the history of Intemperance

has ever produced. It is a report of the number of men, women, and children, who entered, within a given time, into 14 of the principal gin-shops in London, and its suburbs; of which there are 2 in Whitechapel; 3 at Mile End; 1 in East Smithfield; 1 in the Borough; 1 in Old Street; 2 in Holborn; 1 in Bloomsbury; and 3 in Westminster. From these tabular statements I make only the following selections:

“At the principal gin-shop in Holborn, there entered on the Monday, 2,880 men, 1,855 women, and 289 children, making a total of 5,024 human beings in one single day; and in the whole week 16,998 persons had visited this single house. At the principal gin-shop in Whitechapel, this had even been exceeded; for there had entered at this house on the Monday, no less than 3,146 men, 2,189 women, and 686 children, making a total of 6,021 in a single day; and in the course of the week, the numbers amounted to 17,403. The grand total for one week only, in the 14 houses selected, the names of which I have seen, and the localities of which I have myself inspected, amount to no less a number than 269,437, divided in the following proportions—namely, 142,453 men, 108,593 women, and 18,391 children—the women and children united, nearly equalling the men; and often surpassing them in the grossness and depravity of their demeanour!”

Alas! Sir, is it England of which we are speaking, the land of the lovely and the brave—the seat of the sciences and the arts—the school of morality and religion; or are those attributes of excellence ascri-

bed to us in mockery, in order to heighten our sense of sorrow and of shame? Yes! in a country second to none in wealth—in intelligence—in power—and I will add, too, in general purity of conduct and character—there yet remains this deadly plague-spot, which I call upon the members of this House to assist, to the utmost of their abilities, in endeavouring to wipe away. If this almost inconceivable amount of degradation is produced by 14 houses only in the metropolis, what must be the mass of vice and immorality engendered by the thousands of other houses of the same class, though of inferior magnitude, which rear their decorated fronts in every street and avenue, whichever way we turn, though, like the whited sepulchres of old, they are, without, all gorgeousness and splendour—within, all rottenness and death; and if the waste, disease, and crime, produced by intoxication in London alone be thus enormous, what must be the aggregate amount of each in all the other towns and districts of England? The sum is so fearful that I shrink appalled from its bare contemplation. (*Hear, hear.*)

If we turn to Scotland, the prospect is quite as discouraging. From a letter, dated Edinburgh, April, 1834, written by an eminent resident of that city, Dr. Greville, I extract only the following passage:—

“ I have been this day in the City Chambers, and have ascertained from the official records, that in the Royalty (or city) there were issued for the years 1833-4, no less than 736 licences. The Royalty

contains 54,232 souls, and 11,046 families ; this is, therefore, a licence to every fifteenth family. The whole population of Edinburgh, and its suburbs, is about 166,000 ; but beyond the Royalty, the licences are mixed up with those of the county, and it is not so easy to obtain a distinct account of them. This, however, is well known, that three years ago, there were only 1,700 licences in the whole of this district ; so that the increase in that short space of time is enormous."

If we ask whether Ireland is affected with this deadly plague as well as Scotland and England, the answer must, unfortunately, be in the affirmative. In Dublin, and in Cork, the increased consumption of ardent spirits, and the consequent increase of disease and crime, is undeniable ; and testimonies might be multiplied on this subject to any required extent. But to take the north of Ireland, rather than the south, for an example—as the north is universally admitted to be in a higher state of order, peace, and comfort, than the south—I quote a single passage from a Report drawn up by the Rev. John Edgar, Divinity Professor, in the Royal College of Belfast, dated in January of the present year, in which he says,—

"The demand for spirituous liquors is so universal, that spirit-shops in the towns of Ulster average 16, 18, and even 30, to one baker's shop ; and in some villages, every shop is a spirit-shop. In one town, containing only 800 houses, there are no less than 88 spirit-shops ! The fruit of all this exhibits itself

everywhere in the destruction of property, and peace, and health, and life, and happiness ; in the increase of crime, the injury of the best interests of individuals, of families, and of the community at large."

Subsequent to the date of this Report, I have received a letter from Mr. John Finch, of Liverpool, a gentleman well known for his intimate acquaintance with the lower orders of the people generally, from his having made their condition the subject of personal investigation and continued care. He says,

"I have just returned from a six weeks' journey in Ireland, having visited all the principal seaports in that island, from the Giant's Causeway to Bantry and Wexford ; and certainly the condition of the great mass of the people in that country is as miserable as it is possible ; they are filthy, ragged, famished, houseless, herding with pigs, and sleeping on dunghills, without regular employment, and working for sixpence, and even fourpence and fivepence per day. No doubt this wretchedness is in part owing to absenteeism, want of leases, high rents, and, in *some trifling degree*, to tithes ; but I feel satisfied that drunkenness and whiskey-drinking are a greater curse than all these put together. Do you ask for proof ? The finest mansions, parks, and farms in Ireland belong to distillers and brewers ; the largest manufactories are distilleries and breweries, and at least one out of every four or five shops in Ireland is a dram or beer-shop. In one street in

Belfast, I counted seven whiskey-shops together, on one side of the street. One of the Poor Law Commissioners told me at Waterford, that it had just been ascertained that £50,000 worth of whiskey, and other intoxicating liquors, were sold at Clonmel in the retail shops last year, with a population of about 15,000; and it was believed, that, in Waterford, with a population of about 30,000, nearly £100,000 worth was sold in the same time. Can we wonder, then, that the Irish people are so poor?"*

In the central parts of England, in the great manufacturing towns of Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and their surrounding districts, the evil is widely extending in every direction. In Manchester, and the surrounding towns of Bolton, Stockport, Oldham, and others, the increase of spirit-shops and spirit-drinkers, is greater, perhaps, than in any part of England. Take the following testimony as to the former, from the excellent work of Dr. Kay, an eminent physician of that town, "On the Condition of the Working Classes:"—

"Some idea (he says) may be formed of the influence of these establishments, the gin-shops, on the health and morals of the people, from the following statement, for which I am indebted to Mr. Braidley, the Boroughreeve of Manchester. He observed the number of persons entering a single

* Five years after the delivery of this speech, the benevolent Father Mathew took up the subject in Ireland; and his labours have happily wrought a great reformation there.

gin-shop in five minutes, during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods, from seven o'clock till ten. The average result was 112 men, and 163 women, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 412 per hour."

Mr. Robert Jowitt, a most respectable merchant and manufacturer of Leeds, states, that according to the official returns, there are no less than 297 hotels, inns, and taverns, licensed in that borough alone; besides 289 beer-shops, making in the whole, 586 houses furnishing intoxicating drinks; in which, calculating the receipts of the former as on the average of £17, and of the latter on the average of £3 per week only, there would be expended the sum of £307,632 per annum; and by far the largest proportion of this paid by the working people.

In the *Sheffield Iris*, of the 17th of May, but a few weeks ago, is the following paragraph, which, though short, speaks volumes, as to the fearful increase of Intemperance in the great district of which it is the centre. The paragraph is most appropriately headed, and is as follows:

"THE INTOXICATING MARCH TO DEATH.—It is a painful, but at the same time a most melancholy fact, that Mr. Badger, the coroner of this district, has, within the short space of ten days, had occasion to hold inquests on thirteen persons who have come to their deaths by accidents solely arising from indulging in the baneful vice of drunkenness." (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir, it would be easy to multiply evidence of this

description to any extent required ; but I refrain from adducing any more. Here, in the immediate precincts of the seat of legislation, under the venerable shadow of Westminster Abbey, as well as in other parts of this great metropolis ; in Holborn and Seven Dials, on the north ; in Southwark, and St. George's-fields, in the south ; in Whitechapel, and Mile-end, in the east ; in the Strand, in Piccadilly, and in Oxford-street, in the west ; as well as in Smithfield, Barbican, and Shoreditch, in the centre ; everywhere, in every direction, in the heart and around the suburbs of this mighty city, the demon of Intoxication seems to sweep all before him with his fiery flood ; while in the remotest villages and hamlets of the country, as well as in the manufacturing towns, the evil has increased, is increasing, and cries with a loud voice from every quarter for redress.

From the melancholy facts of the case, I pass for a moment to consider what appear to me to have been among the causes of this increase of Drunkenness among the humbler classes. The first of these I take to be the early example of their superiors in the higher classes of society, among whom, in periods not very remote, drinking to excess was so far from being regarded as a vice, that it was often boasted of as a sort of prowess worthy of distinction and honour ; when no entertainment was considered to be hospitably concluded without the intoxication of the majority of those who partook of it ; when ladies were obliged to quit the dinner-table, to pre-

vent their being shocked by the excesses of the gentlemen who remained ; and when the liberality of the host was tested by the number of the guests he had made drunk at his cost ! Happily, for the better educated classes of society, this state of things, which many honourable members whom I now address are old enough, no doubt, to remember, has passed away from them. But drunken servants began at length to imitate drunken masters ; and intoxication being regarded as a proof of gentility and spirit, and a sign of property or credit in the drinker, the vice soon spread lower and lower in the ranks of society, just as any other bad habit, whether of dress or manners, after having been discarded by the upper ranks, with whom it first originated, descends progressively to their inferiors.

Another cause has been, undoubtedly, the severe pressure of taxation, and the equally severe pressure of that excessive labour, by which alone a poor man could hope to find subsistence. These two causes operating conjointly, rendered it almost impossible for labouring men to provide themselves with homes of comfort ; and, therefore, the blazing fire and easy chair of the tap-room at the public-house possessed a more powerful attraction for them than an empty hearth, a damp floor, and a cold and comfortless lodging. They could not enter into this comfortable retreat without drinking something : the first glass begat a stronger thirst for the second ; smoking was added by the landlord, to increase still more the thirst which he profited by quenching ; and associates

in all vicious habits commending each other, for the purpose of quieting the reproaches of conscience, the moderate drinker looked indulgently on the drunkard, till he became tainted with the destructive habit himself. The large size of the towns—increasing in every direction, making the old rural sports of England more and more difficult of access,—and the lengthened hours of labour affording less time for healthful recreation, and forcing men to those more quickly-excited pleasures of intoxication, were, no doubt, each auxiliaries to the causes I have described in towns ; while the departure from the old and wholesome custom of farmers entertaining their labouring men beneath their own roofs, produced the same result of driving them to pass their evenings at public-houses in the country.

Another cause may, perhaps, be found in the sanction given to the sale of spirits by a Government licence, which took away from the traffic the disrepute that would, no doubt, otherwise have attached to it, if not so authorized. The Government, deriving a large revenue from this source, again looked favourably even on the excesses which itself had in some measure created ; and the large sums which flowed annually into the Exchequer, by the increased consumption of ardent spirits, made them encourage rather than repress the disposition in the people to swell the Treasury through this productive channel. The duties were therefore continually augmented until they reached their maximum. This augmentation led to smuggling ;

and as the tax which the smuggler evaded was regarded as a hinderance to the enjoyment of the people, public sympathy ran rather with the violators than with the observers of the law. The smuggler became everywhere a welcome visitor. The rich and the middle classes, as well as the poor, delighted in cheating the Government by purchasing a contraband commodity. The very risk and secrecy of the transaction gave additional zest to its fruits. Spirit-drinking accordingly increased extensively; and while legal distilleries were encouraged for the aid they gave to the Treasury, illicit distillation and unlawful importation were encouraged by high duties; thus the sellers of each left no exertion untried to increase the taste for a beverage, the sale of which brought them such large profits; and such was its seductive nature, that it was calculated, when once implanted, to go on creating a vitiated appetite, which would grow by what it fed on, and know no bounds to its continued augmentation, till it destroyed its victim by his own excess.

To meet the increased demand engendered by this increased dissipation, new houses of entertainment sprung up in every direction, in the shape of wine-vaults and gin-shops in the large seaports and manufacturing districts, and taverns and ale-houses in the agricultural provinces. The Government, too, instead of checking the evil, added only fresh fuel to the already too rapidly devouring flame; and the reduction of the duty on ardent

spirits on the one hand, and the increased facilities given to the sale of beer on the other, spread a flood of desolation over the whole surface of the country. This flood, departing from the mighty heart of the metropolis, was circulated in all the arteries and veins to the utmost extremities of the frame ; and has been thence rolled back again in a torrent of such wide-spreading devastation, that it has scarcely left a single spot uninundated by its overwhelming waves. (*Hear, hear.*)

Let us seriously ask ourselves what have been the effects of all this ? Alas ! Sir, the answer is indeed a melancholy one. Deterioration of the public health, to such a degree, that our hospitals and asylums are filled with the victims of intemperance. Increase of pauperism in every parish, so that the poor-rates bid fair to exceed the rental of the land. Destruction of public morals, by the brutalization of the old, and the prostitution of the young ; the extinction of all honest pride of independence in the men, and the annihilation of all sense of decency in the women ; the neglect of wives by their husbands, of children by their parents, and the breaking in sunder all those soft and endearing ties which heretofore were recognised as sacred among the humblest classes in society. These are but the outlines of this great chart of misery and degradation which Drunkenness has traced out for our survey. The details are too full of sickening horror to be painted by any pen, or uttered by any tongue ; they must be seen to be

credited, and witnessed before they can be felt in all their force.

As a matter of public economy, (the lowest and narrowest light in which it can be viewed,) let a calculation be made of the national cost of all this evil, and it will be seen, that if the revenue derived from it were ten times its present amount, it would be far outbalanced by the tremendous loss which it inflicts on the nation. It is estimated, on carefully collected data, that not less than fifty millions sterling is expended in a single year, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in spirits, wine, beer, and other intoxicating and fermented drinks; not a single drop of which is necessary, either for the health or strength of man, but every glass of which is, in its degree, absolutely prejudicial to the consumer. Here, then, is fifty millions of capital wasted—a sum equal to the revenue of the whole kingdom, as much thrown away as if it were sunk in the depths of the Atlantic. Nay, worse than that; for then it would be merely lost, and no more; but, from its being expended in intoxicating drinks, it gives rise to a long train of expenses besides. Of these, the hospitals and lunatic asylums may be put down at two millions; the county jails and town prisons, river hulks and convict transports, with all the machinery of police and criminal jurisdiction, whether military or civil (for both are used), may be reckoned at five millions more; and the absolute destruction of property, in the burning of houses and their contents, the shipwreck of vessels, and the spoiling

and rendering useless goods of various kinds, destroyed by neglect, may be estimated as at least three millions more. Let us add to this, the immense loss of time and productive labour, and it will equal the sixty millions already enumerated. In a calculation that was made in the *Times*, of the loss of wages, and consequently of productive labour, sustained by the members of the Trades Unions when they devoted a single day only to a procession through London, it was estimated that the loss in wages by the whole number of those who either formed part of that procession, or lost their day by the suspension of business in all the parts through which they passed, and the absence from their homes of those who accompanied it, was, at the least, £50,000. Now, from the great prevalence of the habit of congregating to drink in parties on the Sunday, the Monday, and sometimes even on the Tuesday in each week, it may be safely calculated that there is one such day as this lost in every town in the kingdom every week in the year. Supposing London alone, then, with its 1,500,000 inhabitants, to lose £50,000 by the very partial suspension of its trade and productive labour in one week, fifty-two such weekly losses would exceed two millions and a half per annum; and reckoning London as one-twentieth part of the whole kingdom, this would be forty-five millions for the whole. It may be therefore asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the aggregate expenses entailed, and losses sustained, by the pernicious habit of drinking, exceed one hundred

millions annually ; so that, in a mere pecuniary and economical sense, it is the greatest blight that ever cursed our country ; and, like the cankerworm, it is eating out its very vitals. (*Hear.*)

There is another consideration connected with the economical part of the question, which ought not to be overlooked. Among the various public questions which deeply engage the minds of all classes, there is not one, perhaps, of more general interest than that of the importance of increasing the quantity and lessening the price of food to the labouring classes. Let us see for a moment how this increased use of ardent spirits and intoxicating drink operates in that particular. The quantity of British-made spirits (quite exclusive of foreign importations) has greatly exceeded twenty millions of gallons on the average of several years past, and now exceeds twenty-seven millions, having increased more than one-third within a very short space of time. This increased consumption of spirits I remember to have heard cited, on one occasion, by the right honourable the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Spring Rice) as a proof of the increased prosperity of Ireland ! so exclusively is the Treasury idea of prosperity confined to the proof of money coming into the Exchequer ; though that may be caused by the very impoverishment and misery of the people. But let us see how this increased consumption of ardent spirits decreases the supply of human food. It requires one bushel of grain to make two gallons of spirits ; so that, taking the

legally-distilled spirits made at home at twenty-seven millions of gallons, and the illegally-distilled spirits at half that quantity—and in Scotland and Ireland it is much more—these forty millions of distilled spirits would consume twenty millions of bushels of grain in a year. Here, then, is not merely a waste and destruction of that very food, of which the labouring classes of England have not enough, and which they are demanding to be admitted from foreign countries, duty free; but it is a conversion of one of the best gifts of Providence, a wholesome and nutritious article of sustenance, into a fiery flood of disease, of crime, and of physical and mental destruction. We hang, by the hands of the common executioner, the ignorant rick-burner who destroys the hay or straw laid up for the winter food of cattle; while we encourage and enrich the distiller and the vender of that far more destructive fire, which consumes twenty millions of bushels of the best food of man, which spreads its exterminating lava over the whole surface of society, which kills the body, which destroys the soul, and leaves no one redeeming or even palliating trace behind it.

That the use of these drinks is not, in the slightest degree, necessary to health or strength, may be proved by the habits and condition of the people in other lands, and by the testimonies of personal experience and professional eminence in our own. In Turkey, in Persia, in Bokhara and Samarcand, which, though Mahomedan countries, have snow and

ice during a large part of the year, and a climate more severe in many parts during the winter even than our own, the people use no stronger drinks than water, milk, and sherbet, a kind of pleasant lemonade, without the least admixture of fermented or spirituous ingredients ; and in health, strength, and beauty, they rank the first among the nations of the world. The *pehlevans*, or *athletæ*, of Persia, as well as the wrestlers and quoit-players of Upper Hindoostan, are among the most muscular and powerful men that I have ever seen, before whom the strongest European would quail ; and these drink nothing stronger than water. In my own journeys, during one of which I rode upwards of eight hundred miles on horseback in ten successive days, or more than eighty miles a day, in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, with the thermometer at the burning heat of one hundred and twenty-five degrees in some parts of the journey, and below the freezing point in others, I drank only water, and still continue that pure and wholesome beverage, in the enjoyment of a health and strength, and capacity to sustain fatigue, such as, if my beverage were either beer, or wine, or spirits, I could not possibly enjoy. Nor am I a singular instance ; for I have the pleasure to know many, who, having made the same experiment, and finding its benefit, have had the courage and the firmness to persevere in its practice, amidst the scoffs and sarcasms of the world. On this subject, however, the following testimony, signed by no less a number than five hundred and eighty-nine medi-

cal men of the first eminence, in the principal towns of the kingdom, is at once conclusive and irresistible:—

“ We, the undesigned, do hereby declare, that, in our opinion, Ardent Spirits cannot be regarded as a necessary, suitable, or nourishing article of diet ; that they have not the property of preventing the accession of any complaints, but may be considered as the principal source of numerous and formidable diseases, and the principal cause of the poverty, crime, and misery, which abound in this country ; and that the entire disuse of them, except under medical direction, would materially tend to improve the health, amend the morals, and augment the comfort of the community.”

Let me add to this, the individual opinions of the following eminent members of the Medical profession, in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin :—

Sir Astley Cooper, Bart., Principal Surgeon to the King, says, “ No person has a greater hostility to dram-drinking than myself, insomuch that I never suffer any ardent spirits in my house, thinking them *evil spirits* ; and if the poor could witness the white livers, the dropsies, the shattered nervous systems which I have seen, as the consequences of drinking, they would be aware that spirits and poisons were synonymous terms.”

William Harty, Physician to the Prison of Dublin, says, “ Being thoroughly convinced, by long and extensive observation amongst the poor and middling classes, that there does not exist a more productive

cause of disease, and consequent poverty and wretchedness, than the habitual use of ardent spirits; I cannot, therefore, hesitate to recommend the *entire* disuse of such a poison, rather than incur the risks necessarily connected with its most moderate use."

Robert Christison, Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Edinburgh, says, "The useful purposes to be served by spirituous liquors are so trifling, contrasted with the immense magnitude and variety of the evils resulting from their habitual abuse by the working classes of this country, that their entire abandonment as an article of diet is earnestly to be desired. According to my experience in the Infirmary of this city, the effects of the abuse of ardent spirits in impairing health, and adding to the general mortality, are much increased in Edinburgh, since the late changes in the Excise Laws, and the subsequent cheapness of whiskey."

Edward Turner, Professor of Chemistry in the London University, says, "It is my firm conviction that ardent spirits are not a nourishing article of diet; that in this climate they may be entirely disused, except as a medicine, with advantage to health and strength; and that their habitual use tends to undermine the constitution, enfeeble the mind, and degrade the character. They are one of the principal causes of disease, poverty, and vice."

I cannot forbear adding to this, the fact of two experiments having been recently tried, one among the anchor-smiths in one of the King's dockyards, and another among the furnace-men, or smelters of

tin-ore, in Cornwall. As in each of these occupations the heat of the fires is excessive, and the labour great, it had been always hitherto considered necessary to grant an unlimited supply of beer to the persons engaged in it. But a party of each were prevailed upon, for a sum of money divided among them, to try the experiment of working a gang of water-drinkers against one of beer drinkers, each equal in number and average strength; and the result of both the experiments went to prove that the water-drinkers could sustain the greatest degree of heat and labour with the least exhaustion or inconvenience. This is the case in England. I will add only a short paragraph from the valuable testimony of a well-known authority, Henry Marshall, Esq., Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. In a valuable paper on the impolicy of issuing ardent spirits to the European troops in India, he says:—

“The first error with respect to the use of ardent spirits which I mean to oppose, is, that they contribute to enable men to undergo great fatigue. This is, I believe, a very common error. Spirits never add permanent strength to any person. In all climates the temperate livers are the fittest to endure fatigue. Dr. Jackson travelled one hundred and eighteen miles in Jamaica in four days, and carried baggage equal in weight to the common knapsack of a soldier. He says, ‘In the journey which I have just now mentioned, I probably owe my escape from sickness, to temperance and spare diet. I breakfasted on tea about ten in the morning, and made a

meal of bread and salad after I had taken up my lodging for the night. If I had occasion to drink through the day, water or lemonade was my beverage.' He concludes his observations on this topic by stating, 'I have introduced my own experience on the present occasion, because it enables me to speak from conviction, that an English soldier may be rendered capable of going through the severest military service in the West Indies, and that temperance will be one of the best means of enabling him to perform his duty with safety and effect.' Personal experience 'has taught me that the use of ardent spirits is not necessary to enable a European to undergo the fatigue of marching in a climate whose mean temperature is between seventy-three and eighty degrees, as I have often marched on foot, and been employed in the operations of the field with troops in such a climate, without any other beverage than water and coffee. So far from being calculated to assist the human body in enduring fatigue, I have always found that the strongest liquors were the most enervating, and this in whatever quantity they were consumed; for the daily use of spirits is an evil habit which retains its pernicious character through all its gradations. Indulged in at all, it can produce nothing better than a more diluted or mitigated degree of mischief."

Let the following short testimonies of three eminent physicians, Dr. Rush, in America; Dr. Trotter, physician to the Fleet, and one of the most experienced medical men ever possessed by the navy of

England ; and Dr. Paris, a gentleman of extensive practice in London, be added ; and the evidence on this branch of the subject will be complete.

Dr. Rush says, " Since the introduction of spirituous liquors into such general use, physicians have remarked, that a number of diseases have appeared amongst us, and have described many new symptoms as common to all diseases." Dr. Trotter says, " Amidst all the evils of human life, no cause of disease has so wide a range, or so large a share, as the use of spirits." " Spirituous liquors (he adds) destroy more lives than the sword ; war has its intervals of destruction, but spirits operate at all times and seasons upon human life." And Dr. Paris says, that " The art of extracting alcoholic liquors by distillation, must be regarded as the greatest curse inflicted on human nature."

Notwithstanding this, with an infatuation most blind and besotted, and too much, I regret to say, fostered and encouraged by those of their superiors, who talk of the " comfort and refreshment " which these deadly poisons afford to the labouring classes, we see the town and country population, with sickly countenances—sunken eyes—pallid cheeks—livid lips—enfeebled knees—palsied heads and tremulous hands—absolutely diminishing in stature, and becoming uglier in feature—begetting a progeny which, besides partaking of the diseased constitution of their parents, are initiated into the use of the insidious poison in their very infancy by their wretched mothers, and are growing up more

feeble in bodily strength, more weak in mental power, and more vicious and degraded in moral conduct, than even their parents themselves, to whom they are inferior in physical stamina, but whom they exceed in self-abandonment and dissipation.

There are some, however, who, though they admit the injurious effects produced by the general habits of intemperance, deny that the habit itself has increased; and for their conviction, I venture to adduce the following remarkable facts, taken from a very valuable little work, published only four years ago, entitled "An Inquiry into the Influence of the excessive use of Spirituous Liquors, in producing Crime, Disease, and Poverty in Ireland;" compiled from the most authentic and official documents, and exhibiting most remarkable results. On the subject of the increased prevalence of intemperance at present, as compared with former periods, the writer says:—

"But there is, in the collection of London Bills of Mortality, an item which enables us to judge, with some degree of correctness, of the alteration which had taken place in the habits of the population of the metropolis. The item to which we allude is that of 'deaths by excessive drinking.' Examining the London Bills of Mortality we find, that with one exception, there is no record of death by excessive drinking until the year 1686; nor did the average exceed *one* annually for thirty years, after that date. But we find that

when, by Legislative encouragement to distillation for home-use, spirits became the general beverage, deaths by excessive drinking so rapidly increased, that their average for the thirty years between 1721 and 1750, exceeded *thirty-three* annually; that is, that there were nearly as many deaths from intoxication in *one year* when spirits were used, as there were in the entire *thirty years* between 1686 and 1715, when Ale was the chief drink of the citizens.

“The Dublin Bills of Mortality show that the effect in that city was the same. In twenty years, between 1726 and 1745, there were but *three* deaths by excessive drinking recorded, Ale being, during that time, the principal drink of the labouring classes; but when the encouragement to distillation for home-use rendered spirits the more general drink, that is, between the years 1746 and 1757, there died from intoxication (on an average) *in each year*, more than double the number that had died in the entire of the preceding twenty years.

“Nor is the effect of prohibitions to distillation, in producing sobriety, less remarkable. In the three years prior to the restriction on distillation in England, in 1751, the annual average of deaths by ‘excessive drinking’ in London, was *twenty-one*; in the three years after that partial restriction, the deaths averaged only *twelve*; but in the three years between 1757 and 1760, when distillation was totally prohibited, the annual average of deaths was but *three*.

Let this be compared with the fact of thirteen

deaths in ten days, from 'excessive drinking,' as reported by the coroner, in the district of Sheffield alone, and the contrast is frightful. (*Hear, hear.*)

To show that in England, up to the latest date, the same effects are produced by the same causes, let me add the following short but convincing testimony from the most authentic source :

"Mr. Poynder, the sub-sheriff of London, states, that he has been so long in the habit of hearing criminals refer all their misery to the habit of dram-drinking, that he has latterly ceased to ask them the causes of their ruin ; nearly all the convicts for murder with whom he had conversed, had acknowledged that they were under the influence of spirits at the time they committed the acts for which they were about to suffer. Many had assured him, that they found it necessary, before they could commit crimes of particular atrocity, to have recourse to dram-drinking as a stimulus to fortify their minds to encounter any risk, and to proceed to all lengths ; and he mentions the cases of several atrocious offenders, whose depravity was by themselves attributed to, and was on investigation found to have originated in, such habits of intoxication."

I ask the House, as a body of intelligent English gentlemen, as husbands and fathers, as legislators and guardians of the public weal, ought such a state of things as this to continue ? I ask, whether the picture I have drawn is not literally and painfully true ? And I equally ask, whether the time is not fully come, to demand that we should apply a

remedy ? It will be said, perhaps, by some, though I think these will be few, that the evil is beyond the province of legislation, and can only be met by prospective measures of education, moral training, religious instruction, and other aids of this description. Sir, I am far from undervaluing these powerful and benign agencies in human improvement. But the evil requires present checks, as well as remedies more remote. If the public health is injured—nay, if it is even threatened with only a probable injury, do we not establish quarantines, and interdict commercial intercourse, at immense sacrifices of property, because we will not endanger the life of even one of the king's subjects, by permitting the crew to land, or the cargo to touch the shore, till every ground of apprehension has been removed ? If the cholera should appear in any of our towns, notwithstanding every precaution suggested by individual prudence and self-preservation, do we not compel certain regulations of cleanliness and police ?—do we not arm medical boards with power to impose quarantine, and to guard the public health, at whatever sacrifice of other objects, if the removal of these be necessary to attain their end ? What, then, is this, but legislative interference with the freedom of intercourse and the freedom of trade ? It is as much our duty to maintain the public peace as to save the public health, and, therefore, we have a yeomanry, a militia, a body of watchmen and police. We recognise the propriety of preserving the public morals, by the institution of our courts of law, by the sup-

pression of gambling-houses and brothels, the prevention of prize-fights, and the apprehension and punishment of pickpockets and thieves ; and in doing all this, we but do our duty. If, then, Drunkenness be equally injurious to the public health, destructive of the public peace, and dangerous to the public morals of the community—and who will venture to deny that all these effects are produced by it?—why should it not be equally subjected to legislative interference and checked by legislative control? Drunkenness is in itself a crime, as much so as adultery, or lying, or theft. As such it is denounced by religion, in terms which no man can misunderstand ; and the drunkard is especially declared to be unworthy of inheriting the kingdom of God. But, in addition to its being a crime in itself, it is either the parent and source, or the most powerful auxiliary, of almost every other crime that exists. In proof of this assertion, let me adduce the following testimony from the last Report of that admirable institution, “ The British and Foreign Temperance Society,” of which the Bishop of London is the president, and of which many eminent men of all professions are now become members. That Report says, “ The quantity of spirits which pay duty for home-consumption in this kingdom, has more than doubled within a few past years. According to the Parliamentary returns, made in 1833, it amounted to 25,982,494 gallons at proof, which, with the addition of one-sixth for the reduction of strength by retailers, amounted to £13,429,331. 5s. 10d. ;

and this sum does not include any part of the many millions of gallons known to be illicitly distilled, or imported without paying duty.

“Four-fifths of all the crimes in our country have been estimated to be committed under the excitement of liquor. During the year 1833, no less than 29,880 persons were taken into custody by the metropolitan police for Drunkenness alone, not including any of the numerous cases in which assaults or more serious offences have been committed under the influence of drinking; and it should be observed, that this statement relates only to the suburbs of London, without any calculation for the thousands of cases which occurred in the city itself.

“Our parochial expenses, which have been nearly doubled since 1815, are principally occasioned by excessive drinking. Of one hundred and forty-three inmates of a London parish-workhouse, one hundred and five have been reduced to that state by intemperance; and the small remainder comprises all the blind, epileptic, and idiotic, as well as all the aged poor, some of whom would also drink to intoxication if opportunity offered.

“More than one-half of the madness in our country appears to be occasioned by drinking. Of four hundred and ninety-five patients admitted in four years into a lunatic asylum at Liverpool, two hundred and fifty-seven were known to have lost their reason by this vice.

“The poor's-rate and county-rate, for England

and Wales only, amount to £8,000,000. The proportion of this expenditure occasioned by drinking, may be most safely estimated at two-thirds, say £5,333,333; which, added to the cost of spirits alone, £13,429,331, gives the sum expended by this nation, in the last five years, on these two objects only, at £93,813,321; amounting, in only twenty years, to £375,000,000 sterling! without including any computation for the enormous sums consumed in the use of wine and beer, the expenses of prosecutions, the injury done to our foreign trade, the loss of shipping, and the notorious destruction of property in various other ways."

Are these evils of sufficient magnitude to demand legislative interference, or are they not? I hear every one instinctively answer, Yes! And after the recent admission in this House, that the smaller evils of the beer-shop required a legislative remedy, it is impossible that the same assembly can refuse its assent to the proposition that the greater evil of the gin-palace requires equal correction and cure. It is not, Sir, I am well aware, a very popular topic to quote America as an example in this House; but as the conduct of her legislators in this respect arises in no degree from their republican principles, it may be cited without alarming any political opponent, and will be approved, I think, on all sides, by the moralist and Christian at least. My chief reason for doing so, is, however, to show that a Government can do much, even to improve the public morals, by its judicious interference; and

that, too, without the slightest violation of rational liberty, or without risking popular dissatisfaction.

Public opinion having been strongly awakened to the evils of intemperance in America, private societies were first formed for preventing, as far as their influence could effect it, the further spread of this evil; and when they had acquired a strength in the country, by the number and respectability of their members, the Legislature voluntarily came forward to second their efforts by their powerful aid. The first step taken by the American government was to issue the following order, which was dated from the War Department of the Army, November 2, 1832 :—

“Hereafter no ardent spirits will be issued to the troops of the United States; but sugar, coffee, and rice shall be substituted instead. No ardent spirits will be allowed to be introduced into any fort, camp, or garrison of the United States, nor sold by any sutler to the troops, nor will any permit be granted for the purchase of ardent spirits.”

About the same period, the Secretary of the Navy was instructed to select one of the ships of war, for the purpose of trying the experiment of abolishing the use of spirits by the seamen; which succeeded so well, and was so soon adopted by the mercantile marine, that at the present moment there are no less than seven hundred American vessels sailing, without a single gallon of ardent spirits on board, and this too, to all parts of the world, amid

the icy seas of the arctic and antarctic circles, and in the burning regions of the torrid zone. One of the most striking proofs that could be adduced perhaps, of the acknowledged value of this abandonment of the use of spirituous drinks at sea, is to be found in the fact, that these American vessels find freights, from a public confidence in their greater safety, when English ones cannot obtain them at all ; and but recently, when the eminent house of Baring, Brothers, and Company, of London, wrote to their agent in Amsterdam, to know how it was that freights were not obtainable for their vessels ; the reply returned by the agent was, that there were American ships in port, in which the captain, officers, and crew, alike abstained from the use of ardent spirits ; and that till these were all supplied with freights, no English ship would be engaged. Still more recently, and as a consequence, no doubt, of this communication, the same distinguished merchants have lately launched a noble vessel in the river Thames, destined for the newly-opened trade to China, which is to take no ardent spirits for the use of any one on board, except a small quantity in the medicine chest, as arsenic or laudanum, or any other poisonous drug, to be administered by the skilful hand of the surgeon. The public opinion in favour of the wisdom and safety of such a step, is abundantly expressed by the simple fact, that the insurance upon her voyage has been effected at five per cent. premium, instead of six, paid by vessels taking spirits ; and considering the risks incurred

by the possible drunkenness of any of the officers or men at sea, and the risk of fires from the same cause, the difference in the premium is fully justified by the diminished danger of the case. (*Hear.*)

Let no one imagine, that discontent among the seamen would be the probable result of such an arrangement. The most experienced of our naval commanders know well that drinking is the chief cause of all the disobedience and discontent ever manifested at sea. The excellent Captain Brenton, of His Majesty's navy, who takes so deep an interest in the improvement of the service, has again and again declared, that if ardent spirits were withheld, flogging would never be necessary; and the gallant Captain Ross has proved, by the good health and perfect discipline of his intrepid little band, who were buried amidst the polar snows for many months, without a single drop of ardent spirits, that it is neither necessary to health nor contentment: but comparing their own condition with that of other crews, in far less perilous situations, they have good grounds for concluding that ardent spirits are detrimental to both.

Nor is it in the navy only that the absence of ardent spirits leads to improved discipline, and its use produces insubordination; as the testimony of Mr. Marshall, the Army Physician, whose authority I quoted before, will show. He says,

“Military discipline, in all its branches, becomes deeply affected by habits of intemperance. To the

generally-prevailing vice of drinking are to be attributed almost every misdemeanour and crime committed by British soldiers in India. The catalogue of these, unhappily, is not a scanty one ; for, by rapid steps, first from petty, and then more serious, neglects and inattentions, slovenliness at, and absence from, parades, follow disobedience of orders, riots and quarrels in barracks, absence from guards and other duties, affrays with the natives, theft, and selling of their own and their comrades' necessaries, robberies, abusive language, and violence to non-commissioned officers, insolence to officers : and, last of all, desertion, mutiny, and murder may be traced to this source. This frightful picture is not exaggerated. I have seen thirty-two punished men in a regimental hospital at one time. Perhaps not a single individual of that number suffered for a crime which was not a direct or indirect consequence of the immoderate use of spirits. I recollect attending at the punishment of seven men of the same regiment, who received among them 4,200 lashes. They had been all tried for crimes arising from intemperance."

The Duke of Wellington, in the Regimental Orders issued to the Grenadier Guards, in October of the last year, 1833, dwells at large on the fact of increased crime in the Army resulting from increased drunkenness ; and attributes all the breaches of discipline and other offences principally to this cause : a fact also which has been tacitly admitted by the Secretary at War, who recently

expressed his apprehension at the abolition of military flogging, because insubordination and crime had latterly increased in the British army. The cause of that increase was clearly seen by the Duke of Wellington, as arising from increased drunkenness; and this increased drunkenness arose from those increased facilities created by the gin-shops, staring the passenger in the face at every step of his way through almost every part of the great thoroughfares of the metropolis.

Passing from the American army, navy, and mercantile marine, we find that the Legislature has not been indifferent to the subject in the interior towns. In the State of Vermont, an animated debate occurred on the question, whether the corporations of the towns in that state should have the power to grant any licences at all for the sale of ardent spirits: and the result of the discussion was, a withholding of that right, on the ground that ardent spirits were a deadly poison; a sentiment already quoted from Sir Astley Cooper, who, for that reason, would never permit any to be kept in his house; and that therefore the State ought not to sanction, by their licence, any traffic in it at all, except as other poisons, under the care of a discreet and prudent dealer in medicines. The State of Ohio soon after imitated this example. In the State of New York the towns have been empowered, by an annual meeting of the inhabitants, to determine, by a majority of householders' votes, whether any, and how many retailers of spirituous liquors, shall be licensed in their respective

communities. In the whole county of Plymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, where there are forty thousand inhabitants, not a single person is now licensed to sell spirits. In the month of February, 1833, a Society was formed, composed entirely of members of the National Congress, and officers of the public service, civil, naval, and military, for the progressive abolition of the use and sale of ardent spirits; so as to give to this object all the weight of the highest Government influence. Their first meeting was held in the Senate Chamber—the Honourable William Watkins, one of the members of the Senate, being called to the chair, and the Honourable Walter Lowrie, the Secretary to the Senate, acting as secretary to the Society thus formed. The House of Representatives entered as cordially into this association as the House of Assembly, and the local legislatures of the several States have almost wholly followed their example. The result of all this united power of public opinion, and Government authority and example, cordially operating together, has been this: that in America, within the last few years only, more than two thousand persons have voluntarily abandoned the distillation of ardent spirits, and invested their capital in more wholesome and useful pursuits; and upwards of six thousand persons have abandoned the sale of ardent spirits, and converted their houses and their stock-in-trade to better purposes!

Sir, these are facts, which speak so loudly, that they need no commentator to expound their mean-

ing. They show what the force of public opinion has effected, in America, in enlisting the Legislature to engage in the work of moral and social reform ; and they prove how extensively that reform may be safely and usefully carried, when a people and their rulers cordially co-operate together for the accomplishment of one common end. I ask myself, then, has public opinion yet expressed itself in England, with sufficient power and sufficient intelligence, to deserve legislative aid ? Let the answer be seen in the following extract from an official Report :—

“ The first European Temperance Society was established in 1829, by the exertions of Mr. G. W. Carr, at New Ross, in the south of Ireland ; and others were early formed in the north of that island, and in Scotland. Their principles have been spread with much zeal and perseverance, and with most cheering success, among the manufacturing population of the north of England ; Lancashire and Yorkshire alone, where the earliest efforts were made, containing above thirty thousand members. Above four hundred Temperance Societies and Associations have been formed in England, including the interesting islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man ; the whole comprising, according to the latest returns, more than eighty thousand members. Scotland, under the direction of the vigorous Committee of the Scottish Society, numbers about four hundred Societies, and fifty-four thousand members. In Ireland, notwithstanding numerous disadvantages

and difficulties, about twenty thousand persons have joined the standard of Temperance Societies.”*

At the head of the great Metropolitan Society stands the name of the Bishop of London ; followed by nine other prelates of the Established Church, and eight members of the House of Peers. Among the Vice-Presidents of the Society are six members of the House of Commons, ten Admirals, four Generals, three Physicians, and many more of the clerical, legal, and other liberal professions. At their last Anniversary, held only a few days ago, the Bishop of Winchester in the chair, not less than four thousand persons were present, who manifested the most intense interest in the proceedings. Already have a great number of petitions been laid upon the table of the House during the present session only, signed by persons of the highest respectability, praying the House to institute at least an inquiry into the subject : so that by collecting and arranging the evidence on this notoriously prevalent evil, a Committee might be enabled to suggest for mature consideration, and, if approved, for ultimate adoption, such legislative measures as might to them seem best calculated to arrest its future progress, and, if possible, lessen its present amount.

Sir, it is for such a Committee that I now ask ; in order that the Legislature, by giving its sanction to the inquiry which is proposed as its first step, may strengthen that public opinion, which, though already loudly expressed on this subject, will be

* These are now greatly increased in numbers—1851.

more than doubled in its force by the approbation of the senatorial voice. In such a Committee, the various suggestions that may arise can be calmly and patiently discussed. The House acceded to the motion of the noble Marquis, the Member for Buckinghamshire (Lord Chandos), during the last Session, for an inquiry into the operations of the Beer Bill, with a view to ascertain whether any and what measures could be devised for the better regulation of the beer-houses in the rural districts : and upon the evidence so obtained, the honourable Member for Kent (Sir Edward Knatchbull) has framed, and passed through a second reading, supported by an immense majority, a Bill for further restricting their privileges, and lessening the amount of the evils they have produced. Will the House then say, that though the sale and consumption of beer among the thinly-scattered population of the agricultural districts is a fit and proper subject for legislative inquiry and legislative restraint, yet the sale and consumption of ardent spirits in the thickly-peopled towns is too harmless to be disturbed ? This would indeed be "straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel." But of such an absurdity I will not believe the House of Commons to be capable. (*Hear.*)

The objection that is urged against any legislative interference in such a matter as this, I have already partly anticipated and answered, when I have shown that we interfere, and properly so, to prevent, by legislative measures, the spread of

disease, poverty, and crime; and if we believe Drunkenness to be injurious to society as a powerful instrument in producing all these, we are perfectly justified in interfering to stay the progress of its devastating influence. The author of the inquiry, whom I quoted before, has a passage, however, so appropriate to this subject, that I quote it, as strengthening greatly the argument in my favour. He says—

“ We are aware that there are many who may object to this species of monopoly as a restriction on the freedom of trade; some who consider that the occupation of a publican should be as unfettered as that of a shoemaker or a tailor, and that the man who has a desire for drink, and the money to pay for it, should have every opportunity of getting drunk, if he has the misfortune to wish it. But let it be recollected, that the very first law of society is, that individuals shall not be permitted to do that, which, although considered beneficial to themselves, may be injurious to the community at large. The statute-book is full of restrictions founded on this principle. No man can continue to work a factory if it be injurious to the health of those around him. A butcher is not permitted to expose for sale unsound meat. A baker is not permitted to sell unwholesome bread, because it is held criminal to place within the reach of any man that, the use of which is injurious to him. No man is permitted to keep a public gaming-house, because it is considered criminal even to tempt a man to risk his property.

or to provide him with the means of squandering the substance of his family. Nor is any one permitted to have indelicate exhibitions, or to use other temptations to vice. Why, then, should the sale of ardent spirits be unrestricted, when their baneful influence on health and morals is acknowledged? And should it be considered less criminal to tempt a mechanic or a labourer to squander his wages, and to destroy his morals and his health, by the excessive use of spirits, than to do it by any other means?"

As it may be expected of me, however, that I should state more specifically some of the few remedies that I should venture to suggest to the Committee when granted, though their adoption would, of course, depend on their subsequent approval by them for their support, and by the House itself, before any enactment could give them the force of law, I will venture to enumerate the principal ones.

First—I should recommend the payment of all wages to be made before ten o'clock in the morning of Saturday, instead of any later period of that day; or even on Friday evening, because the transition from the pay-table to the regular labour of the day, instead of the entertainment of the evening, would, in itself, be a powerful lessening of the temptation to drink.

Secondly—That workmen should never be paid at any public-house, or place where intoxicating drinks of any kind were sold, whether by their employer or any other person.

Third—To permit no new spirit-shops to be established, or old ones to have their licences renewed, but by the requisition of a considerable number of householders residing within the immediate vicinity of the shop itself, and even then only on large securities for the good conduct of its keeper.

Fourth—To close all those that do exist, the entire day on Sunday, and at an earlier hour than at present on other days; and otherwise so to regulate them as to combine the two objects of giving great openness and publicity to their proceedings, and of preventing any protracted stay of the visitors on the premises.

Fifth—To make it imperative on the police, or other officers exercising the duty of guardians or watchmen during the day or night, to apprehend and take to some appointed station for that purpose, all persons found either in the spirit-shops, or in the streets, in a state of intoxication, there to be confined for a limited period, nor to be released until restored to sobriety.

The tendency of these restrictions would be to lessen the number of spirit-shops, and, consequently, the number of spirit-drinkers; and these I should consider the most effective of the immediate checks. If there be any who think, that lessening the number and the force of the temptations to crime of any kind, will not lessen the amount of crime committed, it would be in vain to hope for their acquiescence in my views; though, to be consistent with them-

selves, they should remove all the restraints of law and police on robbers, murderers, and incendiaries. It has been well said, that there are effects which, in their turn, become causes, and this is the case with the increased number of spirit-shops: they are, perhaps, at first, the effects of an increased desire for intoxicating drinks, but they soon become causes of increasing the propensity they seek to gratify. Rival establishments endeavour to outvie each other in the number and strength of their allurements; and thousands are every day seduced into the vortex of drunkenness, who, but for these allurements and temptations, would never have fallen victims to its destructive power; so that every new licence granted by a Government to a retailer of ardent spirits, is in reality a commission given to that individual, by the supreme authority of the State, to use every art and every stratagem to tempt others of his fellow-men to their ruin! (*Hear, hear.*)

And let it not for a moment be supposed that the lessening the number of the spirit-shops, or the abatement of the consumption of ardent spirits, would be an invasion of the poor man's rights or comforts, or would abridge his pleasures, or lessen his enjoyments. Not to cite the evidence with which American official documents abound, as to the large increase of happiness to the people who had been reclaimed from spirit-drinking by the diminution of spirit-shops, the cessation of distilleries, and the suspension of the vast machinery of

poverty, disease, and crime, I content myself with citing a single passage from the well-known work of Mr. Colquhoun, in his Treatise on the Police of London, the last authority I shall quote. That careful and accurate observer of the condition of the people in this metropolis says, at p. 328 of his able work,—

“It is a curious and important fact, that during the period when the distilleries were stopped, in 1796 and 1797, although bread, and every necessary of life, was considerably higher than during the preceding year, the poor, in that quarter of the town where the chief part reside, were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed, than at any period for some years before, even although they had not the benefit of the extensive charities which were distributed in 1795. This can only be accounted for by their being denied the indulgence of gin, which had become, in a great measure, inaccessible from its very high price. It may fairly be concluded, that the money formerly spent in this imprudent manner had been applied in the purchase of provisions, and other necessities, to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds. The effects of their being deprived of this baneful liquor, was also evident in their *more orderly conduct; quarrels and assaults were less frequent*, and they resorted seldomer to the pawnbrokers’ shops; and yet, during the chief part of this period, bread was 15*d.* the quartern loaf, and meat higher than the preceding year, par-

ticularly pork, which arose in part from the stoppage of the distilleries, but chiefly from the scarcity of grain."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer may, perhaps, feel some apprehension for the revenue at present derived from so prolific a source as the consumption of ardent spirits, and he may fear to arrest the torrent of drunkenness that desolates the land, lest pecuniary defalcation to the Treasury should result. But let me calm the anxieties of the noble lord on that score. I shall neither propose to increase the duty suddenly and greatly, and so encourage smuggling ; nor lessen it in the slightest degree, and so encourage consumption ; though I should be disposed to recommend a reduction of the duties on malt, on light French wines, on tea, coffee, and other comparatively wholesome beverages, to substitute for the pernicious poison of spirits in every shape, the imposts on which might be gradually heightened as the duties on the former were progressively decreased. My object would be, first, to prevent any further increase to the number of houses now devoted to this guilty and destructive traffic ; next, gradually to reduce the number as well as the strength of the auxiliary temptations with which they now abound ; and lastly, to put those that may remain under such wholesome regulations, as shall at least abate, if not wholly extirpate the disease and crime of which they are the present dens. In addition to such present remedies as may be added to meet the present evil, I shall be pre-

pared to show that we might greatly prevent its further spread, by establishing adult as well as infant schools, aided by humble museums, and collections of works of nature and of art, so exciting to rational curiosity, and so powerful in refining the tastes and feelings of the least informed ; as well as by instituting instructive and entertaining lectures on popular branches of knowledge, and encouraging the establishment of parish libraries and district reading-rooms, provided with cheaper and more innocent refreshments than the liquid poison now consumed ; so as to afford to the labouring population that opportunity of social meeting, and cheap exhilaration, which their daily toils entitle, as well as prepare them to enjoy ; and afford them opportunities for the development of their mental faculties and moral feelings, by that collision of opinion and interchange of sentiment, which, under sober exercise, is a fruitful source of attachment and esteem, but which, under the influence of intoxication, degenerates into bitterness and strife.

All this, Sir, I feel assured, if the Committee for which I ask be granted, we may do, even for the present generation, who deserve our earliest and most immediate care. And when we have stayed the inundating flood, and prevented it from ingulphing in its devouring waves, the strength and virtue of our land—then we may turn to that rising generation whose tender years call loudly for our paternal care, and providing for them a system of national and universal instruction,—teach them that it is

their interest to be sober, industrious, and well-informed, leaving them, prepared with the elements of knowledge at least, to work out this problem for themselves, and to enjoy its demonstration in their own improved condition and augmented happiness produced by the national tuition wisely and well applied. From such a state of renovated health in the now diseased portion of society, what wealth might we not anticipate? The Exchequer, instead of being fed on the one hand, as it now is, by a revenue of four or five millions, from the consumption of intoxicating drinks, and drained on the other of fifteen or twenty millions for our poor-rates, and hospitals, and jails, and hulks, and armies, and police, would be receiving from the consumption of more wholesome and nutritious articles, and from the profits of productive industry, now utterly lost and cast away, a revenue of fifteen or twenty millions on the one hand, and on the other be drained of four or five millions only, for the maintenance of an army of schoolmasters; an ordnance department of books and materials of instruction to assist the conquests of knowledge over ignorance. These, Sir, are but a portion of the advantages which anticipation shadows forth in the future, if we have but the courage and the virtue to reclaim our unhappy countrymen from the two debasing influences which now weigh them down—ignorance and demoralization. And if we believe that the Supreme Being, whose blessing we invoke on every occasion of our assembling in this House, to pursue

the solemn duty of legislative improvement, does really hear our prayers, and regard our actions with pleasure or disapprobation, let us be assured that the most acceptable, because the most effective manner in which we can evince our gratitude to Him for the blessings of health, instruction, and happiness which we enjoy, is to extend those blessings to the greatest number of our fellow-beings, and spread the sunshine of comfort, in which we ourselves are permitted to bask, over those who are now buried in the chilly gloom and deadly darkness of ignorance and intemperance combined.

Believing, therefore, that Parliamentary investigation and legislative measures founded thereon may greatly accelerate the accomplishment of this desirable end, I beg leave, Sir, to move, in the words of the original resolution,

“That a Select Committee be appointed, to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of Intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any legislative measures can be devised to prevent the further spread of so great a national evil.”

The motion was opposed by Lord Althorp, on the part of the Government, and several others; but, on a division, after Mr. Buckingham's reply to the various objections that were urged, it was carried against the Government, by 64 against 47;

the unexpected majority being received with loud cheers; and the following Committee, in which almost every part of Great Britain and Ireland was represented, was appointed :—

James Silk Buckingham, Sheffield, Chairman

Lord Althorp, Chancellor of Exche.	Mr. Serjeant Lefroy, Dublin
Sir Robert Peel, Bart., Tamworth	J. Ewing, Glasgow
Alexander Baring, Hampshire	Lord Sandon, Liverpool
Colonel Williams, Ashton	Mark Philips, Manchester
Sir George Sinclair, Bart., Caithness	Sir Charles Burrell, Bart., Sussex
Emerson Tennant, Belfast	Andrew Johnston, Cupar, Scotland
Philip Howard, Carlisle	John Fenton, Rochdale
Sir G. Strickland, Bart., Yorkshire	Hall Dare, Essex
Joseph Brotherton, Salford	Ivatt Briscoe, Surrey
Sir R. Bateson, Bart., Londonderry	Joseph Pease, Durham
J. P. Plumptre, Kent	Thomas Marsland, Stockport
Henry Halford, Leicestershire	Edward C. Lister, Bradford
Admiral Fleming, Greenwich	Edward Baines, Leeds
Daniel Gaskell, Wakefield	E. Cayley, Yorkshire
Sir E. Knatchbull, Bart., Kent	Frederick Shaw, Dublin University
W. F. Finn, Kilkenny	B. L. Lester, Poole
J. H. Lloyd, Stockport	Sir J. Maxwell, Bart., Lanarkshire
Benjamin Hawes, Lambeth	Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., Wigton
Mr. Alderman Wood, London	

The List of Witnesses is given in the next page, and will be found to embrace men of various ranks, professions, and localities, so that their experience was gathered over an extensive range of countries and occupations; and on the Evidence elicited from them, after many days' patient examination, extending from the 9th of June to the 28th of July, both inclusive, the following Report was agreed to by the Committee, and printed among the Records, by a Vote of the House of Commons.

FIFTY WITNESSES EXAMINED.

Arnold, Lieutenant, Royal Navy, serving in many Climates
 Bagshaw, Rev. C. F., Chaplain of Salford Gaol, Lancaster
 Braidley, Benjamin, Boroughreeve of Manchester
 Brenton, Pelham, Capt. R.N., Founder of the Refuge for Juveniles
 Brooke, David, Cloth-Dresser, Leeds
 Broughton, Robert E., Police Magistrate of London
 Campbell, Alexander, Sheriff-Substitute of Renfrewshire
 Capper, Samuel, Secretary of the Temperance Society, London
 Carr, George Whitmore, Founder of the Temperance Society in Ireland
 Chadwick, Edwin, Secretary to the Poor-Law Commissioners
 Chambers, Robert Joseph, Police Magistrate of London
 Cheyne, John, Doctor of Medicine, late Physician-General in Ireland
 Collins, William, Founder of Temperance Societies in Scotland
 Davis, Thomas Hart, Captain in the Army
 Dods, Robert Greig, Doctor of Medicine, in England and India
 Dunlop, John, Author of a Work on the Drinking Usages of England
 Ellis, Abraham, Working-Weaver, of Spitalfields
 Ellis, M.D., Resident Physician at the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum
 Edgar, Rev. John, D.D., Founder of the Temperance Society in Belfast
 Este, Michael Lambton, Surgeon to the First Regiment of Life Guards
 Farre, John R., M.D., Practising Physician, Charterhouse Square
 Fearon, H. B., Keeper of one of the largest Gin-Shops in London
 Finch, John, Proprietor and Manager of large Iron-Works, at Liverpool
 Fox, George Townshend, Magistrate of the County of Durham
 Gordon, M.D., Physician to the London Hospital
 Gell, John Henry, Coroner for Westminster
 Hartley, Thomas, Hon. Secretary to the Temperance Society of London
 Hinton, John, Eating-House Keeper, London
 Herepath, Samuel, Working-Hatter, London
 Livesey, Joseph, Founder of the Total Abstinence Society at Preston
 Lister, Ellis Cunliffe, M.P. for Bradford, extensive Manufacturer
 Moore, Mark, Missionary of the London Temperance Society
 Murray, William, Iron and Coal Master, Glasgow
 Ousby, Rev. Robert, Curate of Kirton Lindsey, Lincoln
 Poynder, John, one of the Directors of the Middlesex Hospital
 Place, Francis, one of the leading Electors of Westminster
 Purnell, Charles, Dock-Master and Director of Shipping at Liverpool
 Roberts, Thomas, Mahogany Broker, London
 Roberts, Owen Owen, Surgeon, Carnarvon, North Wales
 Rowan, Charles, Colonel, and Head of the Metropolitan Police
 Ruell, Rev. David, Chaplain of the New Prison, Clerkenwell
 Simpson, John, Insurance Broker and General Agent, London
 Scoresby, Rev. William, one of the Navigators of the Arctic Seas
 Stanhope, the Hon. Leicester, Colonel in the Army serving in India
 Saunders, Charles, Working-Coal-Whipper in the River Thames
 Turner, James, Operative, Dresser of Cotton Yarn, Manchester
 Twells, John, Esq., Highbury, Magistrate of Middlesex
 White, Robert Guest, Army Accoutrement Maker, Dublin
 White, W. A. Armstrong, Police Magistrate of London
 Wilson, George, Grocer, Overseer of the Poor, Westminster

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the EXTENT, CAUSES, and CONSEQUENCES of the prevailing vice of INTOXICATION among the LABOURING CLASSES of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any Legislative Measures can be devised to prevent the further spread of so great a National Evil, and to whom the several Petitions presented to the House were referred, and who were empowered to report the MINUTES of EVIDENCE taken before them from time to time :—HAVE, pursuant to the Order of the House, proceeded to examine a great number and variety of witnesses from different parts of the United Kingdom, and in various ranks and professions of life, and have agreed to the following REPORT :

I. Extent of the Evil.

1. That it appears to your Committee, from the evidence taken before them, that the vice of intoxication has been for some years past on the decline in the higher and middle ranks of society; but has increased within the same period among the labouring classes, and exists at present to a very great extent in the population of England, Scotland, and

Ireland, and in the seaport and manufacturing towns, as well as in the agricultural districts, including in its victims, men, women, and even children.

II. *Remote Causes of its Production.*

2. That among the remote causes of the intemperance which still prevails, may be enumerated, the influence of example set by the upper classes of society, when habits of intoxication were more frequent in such ranks than among their inferiors in station; and the many customs and courtesies still retained, from a remote ancestry, of mingling the gift or use of intoxicating drinks with almost every important event in life, such as the celebration of baptisms, marriages, and funerals, anniversaries, holidays, and festivities, as well as in the daily interchange of convivial entertainments, and even in the commercial transactions of purchase and sale.

III. *Immediate Causes of its Extension.*

3. That among the immediate causes of the increased prevalence of this vice among the humbler classes of society, may be mentioned, the increased number and force of the temptations placed in their daily path, by the additional establishment of places at which intoxicating drinks are sold, the number now being considered, from the average of several districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be not less than one such place to about every twenty families throughout the United Kingdom; and the

increased facilities of obtaining the dangerous gratification of the moment which these afford, by the reduction in the duty on legally-distilled spirits ; by the reduction in the price, occasioned by admixtures with this, of illegally-distilled spirits ; by the additional allurements presented by every new competitor who seeks to present more powerful attraction to visitors ; and by the very small sums, less even than a penny, for which drams of intoxicating drinks can now be procured.

IV. *Consequences to Individual Character.*

4. That the consequences of the vice of intoxication among the humbler classes, and the prevalence of intemperate habits, and pernicious customs encouraging such habits, among the middle and higher ranks, are so many and so fearful to contemplate, that it is as difficult as it is painful to enumerate even the outlines of them ; and to pursue them in all their melancholy and fatal details would require a volume.

5. That the following are only a few of the evils directly springing from this baneful source :

6. Destruction of health ; disease in every form and shape ; premature decrepitude in the old ; stunted growth and general debility and decay in the young ; loss of life by paroxysms, apoplexies, drownings, burnings, and accidents of various kinds ; delirium tremens, one of the most awful afflictions of humanity ; paralysis, idiotcy, madness, and violent death, as proved by numerous medical

witnesses, who have made this the subject of their long and careful investigation.

7. Destruction of mental capacity and vigour, and extinction of aptitude for learning, as well as of disposition for practising any useful art or industrious occupation.

8. Irritation of all the worst passions of the heart : hatred, anger, revenge ; with a brutalization of disposition that breaks asunder and destroys the most endearing bonds of nature and society.

9. Extinction of all moral and religious principle ; disregard of truth, indifference to education, violation of chastity, insensibility to shame, and indescribable degradation ; as proved by clergymen, magistrates, overseers, teachers, and others, examined by your Committee on all these points.

V. *Consequences to National Welfare.*

10. That in a national point of view, as affecting the wealth, resources, strength, honour, and prosperity of the country, the consequences of intoxication and intemperate habits among the people, are as destructive of the general welfare of a community as they are fatal to the happiness of individuals. Among others, the following evils may be distinctly traced :

11. The destruction of an immense amount of wholesome and nutritious grain, given by a bountiful Providence for the food of man, which is now converted by distillation into a poison ; the highest medical authorities, examined in great numbers

before your Committee being uniform in their testimony that ardent spirits are absolutely poisonous to the human constitution ; that in no case whatever are they necessary, or even useful, to persons in health ; that they are always, in every case and to the smallest extent, deleterious, pernicious, or destructive, according to the proportions in which they may be taken into the system ; so that not only is an immense amount of human food destroyed, whilst thousands are inadequately fed, but this food is destroyed in such a manner as to injure greatly the agricultural producers themselves, for whose grain, but for this perverted and mistaken use of it, there would be more than twice the present demand, for the use of the now scantily-fed people, who would then have healthy appetites to consume, and improved means to purchase nutriment for themselves and children, in grain, as well as in all the other varied productions of the earth.

12. The loss of productive labour in every department of occupation, to the extent of at least one day in six throughout the kingdom (as testified by witnesses engaged in various manufacturing operations), by which the wealth of the country, created as it is chiefly by labour, is retarded or suppressed to the extent of one million out of every six that is produced ; to say nothing of the constant derangement, imperfection, and destruction in every agricultural and manufacturing process, occasioned by the intemperance, and consequent unskilfulness, inattention, and neglect of those affected by intoxication,

producing great injury in our domestic and foreign trade.

13. The extensive loss of property by sea, from shipwrecks, founderings, fires, and innumerable other accidents, many of which, according to the evidence of the most experienced ship-owners, nautical men and others, examined by your Committee, are clearly traceable to drunkenness in some of the parties employed in the navigation and charge of such vessels, whose vigilance, had they been sober, would have been sufficient safeguard against their occurrence.

14. The comparative inefficiency of the Navy and Army, in both of which, according to the testimony of eminent naval and military officers examined by your Committee, Intemperance is a canker-worm that eats away its strength and its discipline to the very core; it being proved beyond all question, that one-sixth of the effective strength of the navy, and a much greater proportion of the army, is as much destroyed as if the men were slain in battle, by that most powerful ally of death—intoxicating drinks; and that the greater number of accidents occurring in both branches of the service, seven-eighths of the sickness, invalidings and discharges for incapacity, and nine-tenths of all the acts of insubordination, and the fearful punishments and executions to which these give rise, are to be ascribed to drunkenness alone.

15. The injury to national reputation abroad, by the intemperate habits of our soldiers and seamen,

the excesses committed by them in foreign ports, where they form the largest class of British subjects usually met with, and from whose conduct erroneous and injurious impressions are formed of the character of the nation to which they belong, as testified by the evidence of ship-masters, merchants, and others given before your Committee ; as well as the direct and immediate contamination and injury of sober races of men in new and uncivilized countries visited, for the first time, by our ships, many of which leave no traces of their visit behind them but the vice of drunkenness, first introduced there by their crews.

16. The diminution of the physical power and longevity of a large portion of the British population, by the destructive effects already described, as produced on individuals ; the loss of personal beauty, the decline of health, and the progressive decay of the bodily and mental powers ; which evils are accumulative in the amount of injury they inflict, as intemperate parents, according to high medical testimony, give a taint to their offspring, even before its birth, and the poisonous stream of ardent spirits is conveyed through the milk of the mother to the infant at the breast ; so that the fountain of life, through which nature supplies that pure and healthy nutriment of infancy, is poisoned at its very source, and a diseased and vitiated appetite is thus created, which grows with its growth, and strengthens with its increasing weakness and decay.

17. The increase of pauperism, in its most fearful

shape, divested of that sense of shame which would disdain to receive relief whilst honest industry could secure the humblest independence ; and associated with a disregard of consequences, and a recklessness of all obligations, domestic or social, which, according to the evidence of witnesses from the agricultural districts examined by your Committee, has converted the pauper, from a grateful receiver of aid under unavoidable calamity (which was once the general character of those receiving parish relief), to an idle and disorderly clamourer for the right of being sustained by the industry of others, or a profligate and licentious parent of illegitimate offspring.

18. The spread of crime in every shape and form, from theft, fraud, and prostitution in the young, to burnings, robberies, and more hardened offences in the old ; by which the gaols and prisons, the hulks and convict-transportes are filled with inmates ; and an enormous mass of human beings, who, under sober habits and moral training, would be sources of wealth and strength to the country, are transformed, chiefly through the remote or immediate influence of intoxicating drinks, into excrescences of corruption and weakness, which must be cut off and cast away from the community, to prevent the gangrenous contamination of its whole frame, leaving the body itself in a constant state of that inflammatory excitement, which always produces exhaustion and weakness in the end ; and thus causing the country to sacrifice every year a larger portion of blood and

treasure than the most destructive wars occasion ; the innocent population thus made criminal, being, like the grain subjected to distillation, converted from a wholesome source of strength and prosperity, into a poisoned issue of weakness and decay.

19. The retardation of all improvement, inventive or industrial, civil or political, moral or religious ; the hindering of education, the weakening of good example, and the creation of constant and increasing difficulties in the propagation of the sound morality and sublime truths of the gospel, both at home and abroad, according to the testimony of teachers, pastors, and others examined by your Committee : the sum expended in intoxicating drinks in the city of Glasgow alone, being stated by one of the witnesses from that neighbourhood to be nearly equal to the whole amount expended on public institutions of charity and benevolence in the United Kingdom.

20. That the mere pecuniary loss to the nation, from the several causes already enumerated, namely the destruction of an immense amount of grain subjected to distillation ; the abstraction of productive labour from the community ; the property destroyed by sea and land ; the diminished efficiency of the navy and army ; the disease and deterioration of the physical and mental powers of the population ; the increase of pauperism ; the spread of crime ; and the retardation of improvement caused by the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, may be fairly estimated at little short of fifty millions sterling per annum.

VI. *Remedies to be applied.*

21. That the remedies to be applied to the cure of evils so deeply rooted, so long established, so widely spread, and so strongly supported by selfish indulgence, ignorance, prejudice, custom, and pecuniary interests, are two-fold ; first, legislative ; and secondly, moral ; and these again divide themselves into immediate and prospective.

22. That the *right* to exercise legislative interference for the correction of any evil which affects the public weal, cannot be questioned, without dissolving society into its primitive elements, and going back from the combined and co-operative state of civilization, with all its wholesome and lawfully-imposed restraints, to the isolated and lawless condition of savage and solitary nature.

23. That the *power* to apply correction by legislative means, cannot be doubted, without supposing the sober, the intelligent, the just, and the moral portion of the community, unable to control the excesses of the ignorant and disorderly, which would be to declare our incapacity to maintain the first principles of Government by ensuring the public safety.

24. That the *sound policy* of applying legislative power to direct, restrain, or punish, as the cases may require, the vicious and contaminating propensities of the evil-disposed, cannot be disputed, without invalidating the right of Government to protect the innocent from the violence of the guilty, which

would in effect declare all government to be useless, and all lawful authority to be without any intelligible object or end ; an admission that would undermine the very first principles of society.

VII. *Immediate Remedies, Legislative and Moral.*

25. The remedies which appear to your Committee to be desirable, and practicable to be put into immediate operation, may be thus enumerated.

26. The separation of the houses in which intoxicating drinks are sold, into four distinct classes :—
1st. Houses for the sale of beer only—not to be consumed on the premises : 2d. Houses for the sale of beer only—to be consumed on the premises, and in which refreshments of food may also be obtained : 3d. Houses for the sale of spirits only—not to be consumed on the premises : 4th. Houses for the accommodation of strangers and travellers, where bed and board may be obtained, and in which spirits, wine, and beer, may all be sold.

27. The limiting the number of such houses, of each class, in proportion to population in towns, and to distances and population in country districts : the licences for each to be annual, and granted by magistrates and municipal authorities rather than by the Excise ; to be chargeable with larger sums annually than are now paid for them, especially for the sale of spirits ; and the keepers of such houses to be subject to progressively-increasing fines for

disorderly conduct, and forfeiture of licence and closing up of the houses for repeated offences.

28. The closing of all such houses at earlier hours in the evening than at present, and uniformly with each other, excepting only in the last class of houses for travellers, which may be opened at any hour for persons requiring food or beds in the dwelling.

29. The first and second class of houses in which beer only is sold, to be closed on the Sabbath-day, except for one hour in the afternoon and one hour in the evening, to admit of families being supplied with beer at those periods : the third class of houses where spirits only are sold, to be entirely closed during the whole of the Sabbath-day ; and the fourth class, as inns or hotels, to be closed to all visitors on that day, excepting only to travellers and inmates of the dwelling.

30. The making all retail spirit-shops as open to public view as other shops where wholesome provisions are sold, such as those of the baker, the butcher, and the fishmonger, in order that the interior of such spirit-shops may be seen from without, and be constantly exposed to public inspection in every part.

31. The refusal of retail spirit licences to all but those who would engage to confine themselves exclusively to dealing in that article ; and consequently the entire separation, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, of the retail sale of spirits from groceries, provisions, wine or beer, excepting only

in the fourth class of houses, as inns or hotels, for travellers and inmates or lodgers, as before described.

32. The discontinuance of all issues of ardent spirits (except as medicine, under the direction of the medical officers) to the navy and army, on all stations, and to every other body of men employed by or under the control of the Government, and the substitution of other articles of wholesome nutriment and refreshment instead. The abolition of all garrison and barrack canteens, at home and abroad, and the substitution of some other and better mode of filling up the leisure of men confined within military forts and lines: the opinions of most of the military officers examined on this point by your Committee being, that the drinking in such canteens is the most fertile source of all insubordination, crime, and consequent punishment inflicted on the men.

33. The withholding from the ships employed in the merchant service the drawback granted to them on foreign spirits, by which they are now enabled to ship their supplies of that article at a reduced scale of duty, and are thus induced to take on board a greater quantity than is necessary, to the increased danger of the property embarked, and to the injury of the crew.

34. The prohibition of the practice of paying the wages of workmen at public-houses, or any other place where intoxicating drinks are sold.

35. The providing for the payment of such wages to every individual his exact amount, except when combined in families : so as to render it unnecessary for men to frequent the public-houses, and spend a portion of their earnings to obtain change.

36. The payment of wages at or before the breakfast hour in the mornings of the principal market-day in each town, to enable the wives or other providers of workmen to lay out their earnings in necessary provisions at an early period of the market, instead of risking its dissipation at night in the public-house.

37. The prohibition of the meetings of all friendly societies, sick clubs, money clubs, masonic lodges, or any other permanent associations of mutual benefit and relief at public-houses, or places where intoxicating drinks are sold ; as such institutions, when not formed expressly for the benefit of such public-houses, and when they are *bonâ fide* associations of mutual help in the time of need, can, with far more economy and much greater efficacy, rent and occupy for their periodical meetings equally appropriate rooms in other places.

38. The establishment, by the joint aid of the Government and the local authorities and residents on the spot, of public walks, and gardens, or open spaces for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town, of an extent and character adapted to its population ; and of district and parish libraries, museums, and reading rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge ;

so as to admit of one or the other being visited in any weather, and at any time; with the rigid exclusion of all intoxicating drinks of every kind from all such places, whether in the open air or closed.

39. The reduction of the duty on tea, coffee, and sugar, and all the healthy and unintoxicating articles of drink in ordinary use; so as to place within the reach of all classes the least injurious beverages on much cheaper terms than the most destructive.

40. The encouragement of Temperance Societies in every town and village of the kingdom, the only bond of association being a voluntary engagement to abstain from the use of ardent spirits as a customary drink, and to discourage, by precept and example, all habits of intemperance in themselves and others.

41. The diffusion of sound information as to the extensive evils produced to individuals and to the State, by the use of any beverage that destroys the health, cripples the industry, and poisons the morals of its victims.

42. The institution of every subordinate auxiliary means of promoting the reformation of all such usages, courtesies, habits, and customs of the people, as lead to intemperate habits; more especially the exclusion of ardent spirits from all places where large numbers are congregated either for business or pleasure, and the changing the current opinion of such spirits being wholesome and beneficial (which the frequent practice of our offering them to those whom we wish to please or reward so con-

stantly fosters and prolongs) into the opinion of their being a most pernicious evil, which should on all occasions be avoided, as poisoners of the health, the morals, and the peace of society.

43. The removal of all taxes on knowledge, and the extending every facility to the widest spread of useful information to the humblest classes of the community.

44. A national system of education, which should ensure the means of instruction to all ranks and classes of the people, and which, in addition to the various branches of requisite and appropriate knowledge, should embrace, as an essential part of the instruction given by it to every child in the kingdom, accurate information as to the poisonous and invariably deleterious nature of ardent spirits, as an article of diet, in any form or shape ; and the inculcation of a sense of shame, at the crime of voluntarily destroying, or thoughtlessly obscuring that faculty of reasoning, and that consciousness of responsibility, which chiefly distinguishes man from the brute, and which his Almighty Maker, when he created him in his own image, implanted in the human race, to cultivate, to improve, and to refine—and not to corrupt, to brutalize, and to destroy.

VIII. *Ultimate or Prospective Remedies.*

45. The ultimate or prospective remedies which have been strongly urged by several witnesses, and which *they* think, when public opinion shall be sufficiently awakened to the great national import-

ance of the subject, may be safely recommended, include the following :—

46. The absolute prohibition of the importation from any foreign country, or from our own colonies, of distilled spirits in any shape.

47. The equally absolute prohibition of all distillation of ardent spirits from grain, the most important part of the food of man, in our own country.

48. The restriction of distillation from other materials, to the purposes of the arts, manufactures, and medicine ; and the confining the wholesale and retail dealing in such articles to chemists, druggists, and dispensaries alone.

IX. *Examples of other Countries.*

49. Your Committee have, in the course of their investigations, directed their inquiries as to the steps taken and effects produced by legislative and by moral means, in America more especially, and they have been gratified to learn the following facts :—

50. That in the American navy and army, the issue of spirits by the Government has been discontinued, and nutritious articles of equal value substituted, with benefit and contentment to all parties.

51. That no less than seven hundred vessels in the merchant service now sail from different parts in America, and to all climates, arctic and tropical, with no ardent spirits on board, excepting only a small quantity in the medicine chest for occasional medicinal use.

52. That of the American ships entering the port of Liverpool, nine out of every ten are navigated on what are denominated Temperance principles: the captain, officers, and crew, agreeing to abstain from the use of spirits, except as medicine, and no supply, beyond the very limited quantity used as such, being taken for the voyage.

53. That such ships obtain freights in preference to English vessels not navigated on those principles, in consequence of the public conviction of their greater safety, from the sobriety of those on board.

54. That some English vessels have recently been fitted out and sent to sea from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Greenock, in imitation of the Americans; that they have been insured at a lower rate of premium than that paid on other vessels not so abstaining from taking spirits on board; and that experienced merchants, shipowners, insurance brokers, and others, examined before your Committee, express their conviction that such abatement in the rate of insurance in such ships is fully warranted by the actual diminution of the risk of injury and loss.

55. That in the metropolis of the United States, the highest encouragement has been given to the promotion of Temperance Societies; and from the conjoint efforts of public and private individuals so great a reformation has been effected, that throughout the Union, no less than two thousand persons have voluntarily abandoned the distillation of ardent spirits, and vested their capital in other

and more wholesome pursuits ; and upwards of six thousand persons have abandoned the sale of ardent spirits, and embraced other and more useful occupations.

X. Concluding Suggestions.

56. Your Committee, deeply impressed with the long catalogue of evils which they have endeavoured thus briefly and faintly to describe, and feeling the strongest and most earnest desire to lessen their number and amount, humbly venture to suggest to the House the importance of drawing the attention of His Majesty's Government to the immediate introduction of such improvements as your Committee have respectfully recommended in the navy and army, and in the ships employed in the merchant service ; to the causing such other ameliorations to be made in this respect, as can be effected by their authority, wherever that may extend ; and to the public declaration of their determination to introduce, early in the ensuing Session, some general and comprehensive law, for the progressive diminution and ultimate suppression of all the existing facilities and means of intemperance, as the root and parent of almost every other vice.

57. As your Committee are fully aware that one of the most important elements in successful legislation is the obtaining the full sanction and support of public opinion in favour of the laws,—and as this is most powerful and most enduring when based on careful investigation and accurate know-

ledge as the result, they venture still further to recommend the most extensive circulation during the recess, under the direct sanction of the Legislature, of an abstract of the Evidence obtained by this Inquiry, in a cheap and portable volume, as was done with the Poor Law Report, to which it would form the best auxiliary ; the national cost of intoxication and its consequences being ten-fold greater in amount than that of the poor-rates, and pauperism itself being indeed chiefly caused by habits of intemperance, of which it is but one out of many melancholy and fatal results.

NOTE.

SINCE this Report was laid on the Table of the House of Commons, and printed as a Parliamentary Document in 1834—the Temperance Cause has been greatly advanced by its extensive circulation, more than a million of copies having been printed and distributed, and Translations of it having also been made into several languages. The truths there established have, indeed, so altered the estimation in which the Temperance Cause is held, that Judges on the Bench speak of it with respect. Chancellors of the Exchequer even give it their high commendation. The Bishops and Clergy eulogize it from the pulpit, and Addresses from its Members are favourably received by the Sovereign on the Throne. The Statistical Societies even make it a subject of study and enquiry, and the following is one of the most recent proofs of this.

MORTALITY FROM INTEMPERANCE.

At the last meeting of the Statistical Society, (June, 1851) Lord Overstone in the chair, a paper was read by F. G. P. Neison, Esq., on the "rate of mortality among persons of intemperate habits." Mr. Neison commenced his paper by explaining, that the primary reason for collecting the data then brought forward was to apply the results to life-assurance operations, and he had consequently only included well-marked cases of intemperance, and not brought into his observations mere occasional drinkers, or what is termed generous or "free livers." Throughout the whole of the tables the mortality shown was frightfully high. In the 6111 years of life represented by the several persons over whom these observations extended, 357 deaths had taken place ; but if these lives had been subject to the same rate of mortality as the general population of England and Wales, the number of deaths would have been 110 only, or less than *one-third*. At the term of life 21 to 30 the mortality was upwards of *five-times* that of the general community, and in the succeeding 20 years it was above *four times greater*, the difference gradually becoming less and less. An intemperate person aged 20 has an equal chance of living 15 years; one of 30 years of age, 13 ; and one of 40 years, 11 years only; while a person of the general population of the country would have an equal chance of living 44, 36, and 28 years respectively! Some curious

results were shown in the influence of the different kinds of drink on the duration of life ; beer-drinkers averaging 21 years, spirit-drinkers 16, and those who drank both spirits and beer indiscriminately 16 years. These results, however, were not more curious than those connected with the different classes of persons. The average duration of life, after the commencement of intemperate habits among mechanics, working and labouring men, was 18 years ; traders, dealers, and merchants, 17 ; professional men and gentlemen, 15 ; and females, 14 years only. But perhaps the most curious circumstance disclosed was the remarkable similarity between the proportion of crime in the sexes, to the proportion of deaths from assigned causes of intemperance. It was shown that the tendency to crime in the male sex is nearly *five times* greater than that of the female, or more strictly in the relation of 336 to 1581, while the ratio of deaths to the population from assigned intemperate causes at the age of 20 and upwards, are in the relation of 8011 to 36769—a most remarkable agreement, the difference being under $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Mr. Neison concluded by giving an estimate of the number of drunkards in England and Wales, from which it appeared that the number of males was 53,583, and females 11,223, making a total of 64,806, which gives one drunkard to every 74 of the male population, one to every 434 of the female, and one in 145 of both sexes.

P E A C E.

NOTE.

THE intimate connection between TEMPERANCE and PEACE, is most strikingly shown by the fact, that, with very few exceptions, the Members of the separate Societies instituted for the promotion of these great blessings, belong equally to both. War, indeed, could never exist, but for the intemperate and inflamed condition of the worst passions of our nature—cupidity, hatred, tyranny, and revenge. The lust of conquest, the exercise of power, and the avenging of injuries, are the three great sources of all wars: and how much these evil passions are strengthened by Intemperance, it requires but a slight acquaintance with the world to show. With the self-possession and calmness of judgment which a perfectly temperate life ensures, there is little or no danger of that angry irritation which leads to personal aggression between individuals, or contests of fleets and armies between nations: and if the inflaming influence of wine and strong drinks were withdrawn, the minds of most men would be enabled to see so clearly the unchristian character, as well as the cruelty and impolicy of War, that every tongue would be employed in persuading nations and peoples to live in friendship and peace.

Till this happy time shall arrive, however, it is the duty of all who feel strongly on the subject, to assist in dispelling the illusions by which War is still defended and maintained; and in the humble hope of contributing towards so noble an end, the following document is appended, in the form in which it was originally issued by the Society described.

[Issued by the York Branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood.]

WAR & BLOODSHED!—OR ARBITRATION & PEACE!

SPEECH OF J. S. BUCKINGHAM, ESQ.,

(Late Member for Sheffield in the British Parliament.)

AT THE PEACE CONVENTION HELD AT BRUSSELS,

SEPT. 20, 1848.

[The subject discussed in the following Discourse being one of acknowledged importance, and a strong desire being felt by the Friends of Peace that their views should be extensively circulated, for the purpose of being examined and commented on by all classes, it is hoped that the Editors of Public Journals in all Countries, and Philanthropists everywhere, will give their aid towards its widest possible diffusion.]

At the sitting of the Congress on the question of the iniquity, absurdity, and injustice of War, Mr. BUCKINGHAM ascended the tribune, and spoke as follows :—

I am so deeply impressed with the solemnity and importance of the occasion which brings us here to-day, and so desirous of discussing the subject before us in a manner becoming the vastness of the interests involved in its solution, that I hesitate where to begin; and this hesitation is increased by my anxiety to waste not a moment of our time, but to be as brief as is consistent with being intelligible. I propose, therefore, to cast a rapid glance over the

subject, under its three most prominent points of view—the historical, the financial, and the moral; each of which will be found worthy of our consideration, for the proofs which they afford of the truth of the proposition to be submitted to your acceptance or rejection.

And first, of the historical aspect and results of War. If we take a retrospective view of all the great empires and kingdoms of antiquity, from Egypt and Babylon down to Persia, Greece, and Rome, and ask what has become of all their wealth, power, and magnificence,—History answers us that they are no more, that they are swept with utter desolation, and that all are prostrate in the dust, with scarcely a hope of reanimation. The mighty cities of Thebes and Memphis, Nineveh and Babylon, Persepolis and Palmyra, once the glory of their respective regions, are now desolate and abandoned; and even Athens and Rome, notwithstanding the fragments of art which still give dignity to their ruins, are but the shadows of what they were: so that instead of giving, as heretofore, the lights of philosophy and science, or laws and edicts for the government of the rest of the world, they are now both so feeble as to be unable to stand alone without foreign aid.

To what fatal cause is all this general wreck and destruction to be attributed? History answers, To the sack of armies—to the ambition or lust of conquest—to the dreadful scourge of War. Cities—which it required centuries to build up, to people,

and to adorn—were destroyed and depopulated in a few days. Fields—which it had taken ages of toil and labour to make productive of all that could nourish, cheer, or delight man—were ravaged and reduced to barrenness in a few campaigns. Instead of obeying the command of the Creator, at his first formation of man, which was “to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth,” War has brought about the most opposite results, namely, to diminish, to decrease, and to uproot all that smiling Peace, and her attendant handmaid, Prosperity, had previously produced. (Applause.)

If we pass from ancient times to those of more modern date, we find the same causes producing the same effects. The greatest of all conquerors and warriors in the middle ages were the Spaniards and Portuguese, who—with the greater part of the two hemispheres, America and Asia, for their colonies, with mines of gold and silver, seas of pearl, and beds of rubies, emeralds, and diamonds—were yet unable to bear up against the weight of those calamities which War brings even upon the victors; and after having lost all their foreign possessions, on which it was their boast to say ‘the sun never set,’ they are now each reduced to the lowest point of weakness, without strength, without credit, and almost without character; so true, as well as beautiful, is that exquisite image of Shakespeare—

“Glory is like a circle in the water,
Which never ceaseth to extend itself
Till, by broad spreading, it dissolve to nought.”

(Applause.)

As to the second point of view in which War deserves to be regarded—the financial—this furnishes quite as many proofs of its ruinous consequences. Nearly all the existing nations of Europe are crippled with financial difficulty; and two of the most warlike and most powerful, England and France, have the heaviest burdens to bear. The national debt of England—now about eight hundred millions sterling, involving a taxation of thirty millions annually to discharge its interest only—was contracted almost solely to defray the expenses of Wars, undertaken more frequently to arrest the progress of liberty than to advance it—two hundred millions being the price we paid for trying to prevent our American colonies from asserting their independence, which they nevertheless achieved; and four hundred millions being spent in trying to prevent the spread of republican institutions, which have nevertheless established themselves, in spite of all opposition. And the very last addition made to this enormous mass of debt, in the two millions borrowed by our Chancellor of the Exchequer, to make the income of the year equal its expenditure, is mainly owing to our large naval and military armaments, the cost of which nearly amounts to twenty millions sterling—a single campaign with a barbarous Caffre tribe at the Cape of Good Hope alone absorbing a million and a-half of the public money. (Hear, hear.)

If the advocates of these Wars were made to bear the burden of them exclusively, it would be

only a just retribution for their folly; but unhappily the people of England generally have to participate in the payment, and thus the over-worked and under-paid agricultural and manufacturing labourers have each less food, less clothing, less shelter, less repose, less instruction, and less enjoyment, than they might and would have had but for the deep inroad which the national taxation to pay for these Wars makes upon their limited resources. Besides the suffering and misery therefore inflicted by War on the battle-field, where the groans of the dying and the wounded fill the air, and the weeping of the widow and the wailing of the orphan swell the tide of agony on every side; besides all this, repeated on every occasion of combat either by land or by sea, there is a heavy load of suffering and privation imposed on those who take no part in the strife, by a weight of taxation pressing them to the earth, and keeping them down, without a ray of hope to cheer their weary and miserable existence. (Hear, hear.)

In a financial point of view, nothing is so ruinous as War; for while its expense is greater than that of all other things undertaken by governments, it yields nothing in return but naked destruction, loss, and ruin, which has now accumulated so enormous an amount of national debt, in England and France especially, the two nations that place themselves at the head of all others in the world, that no sane person is able to discover the least probability of its ever being liquidated by any process of repayment.

And even if the positive inability to redeem it, from the want of means—or the unwillingness of some future generation to do it, from want of inclination—should lead to its repudiation, the fact that eight hundred millions sterling were sunk by England alone, in wasteful and ruinous wars, and half that sum, perhaps, by France, in the same murderous game, would be still indisputable, and the amount be for ever lost to the world. (Applause.)

Lastly, if we regard War under the aspect of its moral or rather immoral influences, we shall have as strong grounds for condemning it as are presented by its historical and financial results. The fruits of correct morals are justice, equity, forbearance, reciprocal aid, mutual association, and a fair and full reward for labour and virtue. But War strikes at the root of all these. Instead of justice and equity, behold the strong continually oppressing the weak; as every one knows it is not the justice of the cause of quarrel, but the force that can be brought into the field, in numbers, bravery, and skill, that determines who shall be victors; and whenever a quarrel is to be settled by mere force, it is a constant temptation to those who possess such force to use it unjustly. Instead of forbearance, we see revenge: instead of reciprocal and mutual aid and association, we see men tearing each other to pieces like wild beasts, each man seeking to destroy his neighbour. Instead of a full and fair reward for labour and virtue, War destroys the labourer's produce, and virtuous women and inno-

cent children are its constant victims, when towns are bombarded and cities burnt to the ground. (Hear.)

Between Christian nations, such contests are in direct violation of every principle of the Gospel we profess to follow. For the injunction, "love one another," we read, "kill, wound, and mangle your fellow-creatures." For the command, "forgive your enemies," we read, "never forgive even those who have done you no harm." Alas! if God should take us at our word, and really "forgive us our trespasses *as* we forgive those who trespass against us," we should receive no mercy at his hands. (Hear, hear.) On this subject, permit me to recount to you an apologue, which I remember to have read during my youth, from the works of Franklin. That philosopher, in order to show the horrors and absurdity of War, relates—that a mortal from the earth, having unexpectedly found himself in heaven, after enjoying its beauties and delights, asked one of the angels to take him on a journey through the depths of space to some of the planets. The angel consenting to this wish, and both being winged, they set out together for the purpose. After visiting several of the orbs in succession, the angel conducted his visitor towards the earth, and they arrived just over the West India islands—when two large and powerful fleets were approaching each other. The one was English, commanded by Lord Rodney—the other French, commanded by the Count de Grasse. As they drew near, the Admiral's ship of

the English fleet hoisted a red flag, which was responded to by the Admiral of the French fleet hoisting a white one. Not a living being in either ship had seen the face of any creature in the other. No unfriendly act, or word, or look, had ever been exchanged between them, nor was there the least ill-will from any one individual towards any other, for each and all were reciprocally unknown to each other. Nevertheless, with their flags flying, they drew nearer and nearer, till at length both sides opened their batteries; and soon the masts, sails, and rigging of each were cut to pieces, as the din of battle arose through the curling clouds of smoke, mingled with the groans of the dying. The sides of the ships ran over with torrents of blood, the dead were cast into the deep, and the whole sea around them became crimsoned with human gore. At sight and hearing of so horrible a scene, the visitor exclaimed to the angel, "I desired you to conduct me to the earth, but you have brought me to hell;" to which the angel replied, "Oh! no, devils are far more wise than men, they never war against each other, any more than tigers or wolves. When they fight, it is at least against another race; man being the only creature that seems to take a delight, with or without provocation, in revelling in the blood of his own kind." (Long-continued applause.)

I give you the narrative as I recollect it, after many years, imperfect perhaps in some of its features, and less forcible than the original, no doubt; but yet sufficiently accurate in substance to show

you what this wise American philosopher thought of War. Happy had it been for his race and country if his opinions had been more generally shared. (Hear, hear.)

In every point of view, therefore, War is the greatest calamity that can afflict mankind. It reduces the richest empires to poverty, and the most flourishing nations to desolation—it involves the existing generation, and still more their posterity, in hopeless and unredeemable debt—it hinders the progress of education, industry, science, and all human improvement—it strikes at the very root of all religion and morality—it makes men enemies to each other instead of friends—it inflames every bad passion and extinguishes every good—it perverts all the thoughts, faculties, and feelings of men to evil purposes, and bids defiance to the law of God and the spirit of the Gospel.

You will demand of us, no doubt, if we deplore this evil, to propose some remedy, and provide some substitute for this appeal to arms. For this we are prepared, and a few words will, I hope, show you that the remedy is theoretically well calculated to remove the disease, and practically suited to provide a vigorous and healthy substitute.

There was a period, and that not very remote, when in England and France, and still more so in Italy and Spain, men avenged their own quarrels by duels, by assassination, or by open assault; and none were willing to entrust the decision of their disputes to any other arm than their own. This

state of things gave rise to feudal or baronial struggles, when clan was arrayed against clan, and town against town ; and in no country was this more strikingly displayed than in Belgium, where Bruges was armed against Ghent, Malines against Louvain, Liege against Brussels, and both against Namur. But this, too, after years of intestine discord, was found to be self-destructive ; and both individuals, barons, and towns, have laid down their arms, and all consented to refer their disputes to one common tribunal, where impartial judges, guided by a written code of laws, determine every case brought before them ; and, in the main, with so much equity that no one ever evinces the least wish to return to the former state of things again. Under the ancient mode of settlement, the rich and the powerful were almost sure to prevail against the poor and the weak ; while now, in the greatest number of cases, the judgments are so equitable, that they are rarely appealed against even by the defeated party, and no lives are sacrificed, no houses burnt, no property destroyed, while the very humblest individual, if in the right, will obtain judgment against the loftiest if in the wrong. (Approbation.)

What we desire, then, is, to place nations—which are now in the same state of barbarous relation towards each other as the feudal barons and feudal towns once were—in the same happy state as individuals and communities now are, and to settle their disputes in the same pacific manner. We desire first, of course, to prepare the public mind for this

change ; and hence we have met here to give publicity to our views—not for the first time, however, for it is now more than twenty years since I attended a public meeting of the Peace Society in London, and gave in my adhesion to its principles and objects ; nor have I ever omitted any opportunity of openly advocating its doctrines, in America and in England, as well as in the very heart of the most warlike nation, France, in at least a hundred different public meetings. And well indeed am I disposed and perhaps prepared for such discussions, because it has been my lot to see something of the horrors of war in actual personal combat, by sea as well as land, and to have beheld with my own eyes the ruins of ancient cities, and the conflagration of modern towns, by the murderous torch of War. (Hear, hear.)

When we have fully imbued the public mind with our views—and for this nothing is wanted but reiterated and frequent discussion—we hope to be able to prevail on the people of some of the most sober and reflecting nations, to use their influence to persuade their respective governments to begin at once to make mutual and reciprocal treaties, binding each other to refer their disputes to arbitration, instead of settling them by arms. But to be fully prepared to meet this change, we desire them previously to appoint for each nation, either by the people or their rulers, the most competent juriconsults that their country contains, to form a Code of International Law, based on the existing works of

Puffendorf, Vattel, Grotius, and others, but improved and adapted to existing times, and purged of all reference to force or violence.

When this is adopted as the Charter of Nations, or International Constitution, then to have a Congress, at which each kingdom, empire, republic, or state, should have its representative, so that the very weakest should be on a footing of equality with the strongest before such a tribunal, as the weak is now equal with the strong in our courts of law—as far as the chance of obtaining a just judgment is concerned—and to refer all disputes heretofore settled by the sword, to the debates of the Congress, for the ultimate decree of the supreme jurisconsults appointed as international judges. This is the outline; and the details will not be difficult to adjust, when men shall approach the subject in the true spirit of peace. (Applause.)

Some, indeed, cry out against the proposition as an innovation; as something without a precedent, as a thing which, however desirable, could never be accomplished. Surely all improvements are innovations: and everything must, for the first time it is done, at least, be done without a precedent; while in the uncertainty of all things before they are tried, it is easy to say, as it is indeed constantly said, that it can never be accomplished; but we have no right to assume this until we have tried and failed; and even then perhaps it would be our duty to try again, and persevere until we succeeded. This is requisite in all great undertakings, and

without this spirit of determination, and undaunted perseverance, nothing great was ever yet achieved. (Hear, hear).

But in truth, we *have* precedents for mediation and arbitration being used instead of War, and used successfully too. Without going so far back as the Amphyctionic Council of the Greeks, to which one of the preceding speakers referred, we may all remember what has happened within our own recollection. When France owed the United States of America a million of dollars, which its President, General Jackson, demanded to be paid, and which the French Government refused to do, not because it was not justly due, but because it was asked in a threatening tone—as if that could lessen the justice of the claim—the two nations were on the point of a war; but William the Fourth of England offered his mediation, which was accepted by both parties, and the question was settled by the debt being paid. (Applause).

Again, when the Americans and the English could not agree about the boundary line between their respective possessions in New Brunswick and Maine, they were so nearly on the point of going to war, that I remember well, being then in the United States, the anxiety of our friends, lest we should be detained as prisoners, if we remained there after war should be declared. But the question was first referred to the decision of the King of Holland; and that not being final, Lord Ashburton was sent out from England to confer with the American

ministers on the spot, and the question was pacifically settled without appeal to arms. Now these are precedents for mediation and arbitration, as preferable to War. (Great applause).

But why need I go so far back as even this? What is passing before our own eyes and ears in the very moment in which I am addressing you? Do we not hear that France and England have offered their mediation to arbitrate between Austria and Italy, to settle that dispute which Radetsky and Charles Albert failed to do by arms? Nay, do we not hear also of mediation to adjust the quarrel between Naples and Sicily—the most recent of all? Yes, indeed, these are instances of homage to the principle of mediation; but, alas! they come too late. When Milan has been sacked and plundered: its palaces turned into stables (murmurs); its magnificent duomo, the pride of Italy and the admiration of the world, desecrated and despoiled; and its rich galleries of art defiled by the smoke of the bivouacking Croats and Hungarians; when half the population are killed or wounded, or have fled from their homes, abandoning all they had in the world (cries of shame); is that the time for mediation? Why not have recourse to it *before* the murderous slaughter and wreck were begun? Surely this would be more rational as well as more humane.

So again of Naples and Sicily. In the former, the lazzaroni were permitted, by royal licence, to stab, pillage, and destroy all who spoke of liberty; and in the latter, Messina was reduced to a heap of

ashes by the Neapolitan bombardment, and thousands were killed and wounded ; while the English and French squadrons, having no instructions to interfere, looked quietly upon this scene of carnage and death (expressions of horror). When all, however, is over, when the silence of the grave reigns where gaiety and joy held their court a few days before ; then, but not till then, they propose mediation ! It would almost seem a mockery to name the word, but such is unhappily the melancholy fact ; and we ask again, if mediation is to be used at all, why not have recourse to it before the ravages are committed, instead of when the evil is irreparable ? (Hear, hear.)

Neither, indeed, is the idea of a European Congress of Nations to settle all disputes between states without recourse to War, so new as many would suppose. It is well known that Henry the Fourth of France entertained such a project ; and but for his untimely death it would, in all probability, have been carried into effect through his power and influence. The venerable and worthy Abbe de St. Pierre advocated such a tribunal with all his eloquence and talent. And the pacific William Penn, as recorded in his "Memoirs," by Clarkson, not only acted on the principle of arbitration for the adjudication of all disputes in his own settlement of Pennsylvania, but conceived and recommended the establishment of precisely the same kind of International Congress for the preservation of the peace of Europe, as that which we recommend.

And if we were desirous of an example of the force of such pacific principles as those professed and acted upon by this worthy founder of Pennsylvania, and all who belong to the same Society of Friends, to disarm all hostile feeling, the history of Penn and his fellow-colonists furnishes the most striking that can be found. They went always unarmed among the untutored Indians, with their tomahawks and scalping knives, their clubs and their bows and arrows; and in consequence of their pacific aspect, they were never once molested by them. The Indians said to each other, "these men can never mean to do us harm, for they are without weapons, let us therefore approach and embrace them as friends." And in all the intercourse of the white with the red race of America, it has been invariably found that armed men alone were attacked by them, as if in self-defence; while the Quakers, as they are called by the world, or the members of the Society of Friends as they are known among themselves, were always secure from harm. (Hear).

Not only was this the case in Penn's day, but even in our own, as we learn from the interesting narrative of the voyages and travels of Mr. James Backhouse, a worthy and enterprising member of that body, who recently made the tour of the globe on a mission of religion and peace. Wherever he went, among the Caffre tribes of Africa, or the Aborigines of Australia, or the wildest of the inhabitants of the islands of the East, he found everywhere the same safety and protection accorded to

him, because, wearing no arms, all were satisfied of his pacific intentions.

This is indeed a subject worthy of congratulation for all ranks and classes of Christians, and better suited to the celebration of a "Te Deum" than those bloody battles which have been too often so honoured in our churches and cathedrals, where bishops have assisted to convey thanks to Heaven for our having strewn the battle-field with heaps of the slain; and consecrated the colours of the regiments that were again commanded to go forth for the destruction of their fellow-men at the mere bidding of those to whom they have bound themselves to pay the implicit obedience of slaves,—for he who is compelled, without the power or right to exercise his own will or choice in the matter, to plunge the sword into his fellow-creature's heart, because he is commanded so to do by his superiors, under the penalty of death if he refuses, can be no other than a slave, however the world may applaud and honour him as a hero. (Loud applause).

It was during the pleasant walk I enjoyed last evening in the splendid Botanical Garden of your city, where gay, handsome, and happy crowds were assembled to enjoy the music and the promenade—where every heart seemed at ease, and every countenance beamed with smiles—where not an angry word, or look, or thought, seemed to have existence—that I could not help mentioning to my companion the contrast of this happy scene with the blood-stained ramparts, shattered fragments, and

gory limbs that bestrewed the boulevards and public walks of Messina—a city larger, more beautiful, and more joyous generally than even your own, distinguished as this is in all these qualities ; and we asked ourselves what was the cause of this contrast, more powerful than day and night ? The answer was, “ Here reigns Peace—there dwells War.” That alone was the difference ; and yet, if the mediation which is now entered upon, *after* all the misery has been accomplished, was had recourse to on the very *first agitation of the dispute*—as we propose the International Congress and Jurisconsults or Supreme Judges to do—the gaiety and happiness of Messina needed no more to have been disturbed, than the joyous crowds that fill your streets, preparing for the fêtes in which all are so eager to participate ; and by striving to place this practice of mediation in its right position—*before*, instead of *after* an appeal to arms—we may help to save your own and every other city from any similar fate, in the future at least. (Loud applause).

Let us therefore press forward in this noble race, until we reach the goal of our ambition, which is not to light up, but to extinguish the fires that ravage the fertile earth, and consume the labours of mankind. And as the wise and liberal monarch and government of Belgium have given us so friendly a reception in their territory ; as they have placed at our disposal, with so much generosity, this most appropriate and beautiful Hall of Harmony ; as we have been so zealously aided by the

co-operation of some of the most distinguished citizens and philanthropists of Brussels, and honoured by the presence and encouragement of the mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters of those who have to fight those bloody battles, which they, as well as we, desire to be henceforward discontinued; let us hope that here, upon the Belgic soil, which, from its having been the scene of so many sanguinary conflicts between contending armies, has been more frequently drenched with the blood of the slain, than almost any other part of Europe, may be now raised the Standard of Amity and Concord, while we invoke the winds of heaven to unfold the fluttering banner, that all may see its heavenly motto, "On earth, peace and good-will to man." (Prolonged expressions of assent.)

THE HORRORS OF WAR.

On hearing the Tower-Guns fired at Night in London, to celebrate the late Slaughters in India; and on reading the Speeches on the subject, by Members of both Houses of Parliament on the 2nd of March, 1846.

HARK! 'tis the booming cannon's roar,
Breaking the tranquil calm of Night;
While armed hosts their squadrons pour
To mingle in the gory fight.

And can it be, that life was given
To be thus wantonly destroy'd ?
Can Christians lift their fronts to Heav'n,
And glory in being thus employ'd ?

Forbid, forbid, the impious thought !
Great God of Mercy ! God of Grace !
Whose Holy Word hath ever taught
The brotherhood of all our race !

Can He, whose everlasting throne
Is based on Justice, Truth, and Love,
Hear with delight the victim's groan,
And Carnage, Blood, and Death approve ?

The Widow's shriek—the Orphan's tear,
Will these delight th' angelic throng ?
And will they cease their harps, to hear
Such sounds, as sweeter than their song ?

O ! for a trumpet's stirring blast,
To wake the world from its false dream
Of "glory,"—and to bid it cast
Its idols in Oblivion's stream !

Yes, we implore Thee, Prince of Peace !
Hasten thy kingdom !—bid it come !
Let War, with all its horrors, cease,
And man enjoy his peaceful home.

Make Senates tremble, when they dare
To take thine awful name in vain,
And say that thou, GREAT GOD ! wert there,
Strengthening their arms to kill the slain !

That from Thy throne Thou lookedst down
With joy upon the murd'rous blade ;
And cheer'd them on, to seek renown
By slaughtering Men whom thou hast made.

O, Blasphemy! most dark—profound!—
Could but an angel from above
Descend to cast his glance around,
And answer “No !” for “God is Love.”

Let hostile nations learn from Thee
That Man was made for nobler ends :
To live united, happy, free—
To die as brothers, kindred, friends !

And after death to live again
In purer worlds, with higher bliss ;
So that a heavenly crown to gain,
Should be our highest aim in this.

To feed the hungry—clothe the meek—
Comfort the mourner—free the slave—
Instruct the ignorant—help the weak—
Are these not worthy of the brave ?

To rescue life,—and not destroy,
Forgive, as we would be forgiven :
On earth let these our deeds employ,
And thus we may prepare for Heaven.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

London, March, 1846.

NOTE.

As the Engraved Frontispiece to this little Volume contains a Pictorial, or Emblematic anticipation of the Great Exhibition of 1851, representing, as it does, the Representatives of different quarters of the Globe, presenting to BRITANNIA the products of their respective regions in 1829; it may not be deemed an inappropriate termination to the Volume, to occupy its few remaining pages with a short Narrative of an attempt made by me in the following year, 1830, to embody this idea in a more tangible form,—which is therefore here appended.

EARLY PROPOSAL FOR

A MUTUAL INTERCHANGE AND EXHIBITION

OF THE

PRODUCTIONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.



IN the year 1830, I laid before the British Public the Plan of a new Voyage round the Globe, to be undertaken for the purpose of uniting to the labours of Hydrography and Navigation, those of Commerce, Philanthropy, and Civilization—all of which were capable of being carried on at the same time—though naval expeditions have hitherto been confined almost exclusively to the first alone. The Commercial portion of this Plan was to put on board the Ships forming the Expedition, specimens of every kind of produce and manufacture that England, Scotland, and Ireland could furnish, for the purpose of exhibiting them at all the principal ports visited in the Voyage, and ascertaining, by actual experiment, which kinds, of what patterns, and what prices, were best adapted to the respective markets, and at the same time ascertaining what special products or manufactures could be imported with the greatest advantage from these different countries in return.

This Plan received the high sanction and approbation of the leading men of the day, and was brought forward at the Royal Institution of London—the Duke of Sussex occupying the chair—when the resolutions in its favour were moved, seconded, and supported by the Duke of Somerset, Lord Durham, Lord John Russell, Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, General Bentham, Colonel Stanhope, the present Earl of Harrington, and others. But the political excitement of the French revolution of 1830, which placed Louis Philippe on the throne, and the passing of the Reform Bill in England, so absorbed all minds, that it was impossible to realize the means of carrying out the Plan to a successful issue by voluntary contributions.

About this period I visited Paris, and, animated by the great desire of my life—that of breaking down the barriers that divide nation from nation, and hastening the reign of human brotherhood through the medium of Free Trade—I sought every means of making my views on that subject known in the French capital; and having delivered a Course of Lectures on India at the *Athénée Royal*, under the patronage of the King and Royal Family, and enjoying frequent intercourse with General Lafayette, and the leading political and literary men of the French capital, including many of the principal Statesmen, and especially the Minister of France, Mons. Lafitte, I submitted, through him, and, with his consent, to the Council of Ministers, the following Plan for the mutual interchange of a

million sterling's worth of British produce and manufacture, for a similar amount of French, each to be displayed in a grand Bazaar or place of Exhibition in the respective capitals, for the purpose of proving to the world the mutual and reciprocal benefits of Free Trade.

The Document proposing this Exchange and Exhibition was dated Nov. 22, 1830, and the following account of its presentation and issue is recorded in a Pamphlet, published by Mr. Effingham Wilson, London, in 1831, entitled—"Outlines of a New Budget, for Raising Eighty Millions, by means of a justly-graduated Property Tax, with Suggestions on the Representative System, the National Debt, &c. Prepared for the consideration of the Reformed Parliament of England. By J. S. Buckingham." March, 19, 1831. It is as follows:—

"I ask, then, the government of France to authorize me to communicate to the principal manufacturing towns of England, their permission to import from thence, free of all tax, duty, or impost whatsoever, the amount of one million sterling of British goods; the proceeds of which, to the same amount, to be re-invested in the purchase of one million sterling's worth of French produce and manufactures, for exportation to, and sale in England: thus relieving the commerce of France, by an actual purchase to the extent named, of its present superabundant merchandise in every branch.

To realize to France the full advantages which

this operation is calculated to create, I propose the security of the following conditions :—

First.—That the British goods imported shall be in the greatest possible variety, so that no disproportionate quantity of any one sort or kind shall predominate over the other ; but that the importations shall include specimens of every description of article manufactured in Great Britain.

Secondly.—That they shall be imported by the way of Havre, Rouen, and the Seine, and not opened either for inspection or sale until their arrival at Paris.

Thirdly.—That they shall not be distributed among the purchasers, except from some great central depôt in the capital, fixed on by the government itself.

Fourthly.—That no portion whatever of the amount arising from the sale, shall be remitted to England in money ; but that the sums produced shall be deposited, as fast as they are realized, in the Bank of France, there to remain, until ultimately employed in the exclusive purchase of French produce and manufactures, in equal variety to those brought from England, including specimens of everything made or produced in France, to be forwarded by the same route of the Seine, Rouen, and Havre, and there embarked in French ships to England for sale.

Fifthly.—That the profits arising from this transaction—that is, the sum that may remain in the Bank of France after the re-investment of the one

million sterling, (the prime cost of the English goods,) in French articles, and the payment of the necessary charges — be divided into three equal portions.

Sixthly—The first portion of the profits to be given to the proprietors or importers of the goods thus collected for Exhibition and public sale.

Seventhly—The second portion of the profits to be employed in the erection of a public monument in some part of Paris, after a design from French artists, to be mutually approved by the contracting parties, suitable to the commemoration of this friendly, liberal, and advantageous example of the reciprocal interchange of the surplus wealth of the two countries.

Eighthly—The third portion of the profits to be devoted to the aid of the Expedition round the globe, now preparing under my direction, for the promotion of Discovery, Commerce, and Civilization, in the Eastern seas, in the ultimate benefits of which England and France may be made equal participators.

The local advantages that would result to Paris alone by its being thus made, for a certain time, the great central depôt for the interchange of the productive industry of the two greatest nations of the world, would be immense, because of the enormous number of visitors and purchasers that would be thus attracted to the capital from all parts of Europe. If, for instance, the authority to make this free importation should be accorded in the pre-

sent month, it might be at once announced throughout all Europe, that in the last week of July, when the weather would be favourable for travellers visiting Paris, and the days long for such an Exhibition, one of the modes by which the Anniversary of the late happy revolution would be celebrated, would be the opening in Paris of an immense and splendid Museum, containing specimens of every description of article produced or manufactured in Great Britain, and a corresponding Museum containing specimens of every article grown or made in France, for ultimate exchange with each other, and for reciprocal consumption in the two countries named.

Such an announcement, if given early, and with all due authority, would attract to the capital, at the period spoken of, at least 10,000 visitors alone from the different countries of Europe, who would come merely to see collected together in one spot, the finest specimens of human skill that the whole world could produce ; but which no expenditure of time or money could enable them to see under such advantageous circumstances again at any period of their lives.

The attraction to purchasers would be still stronger, because every one who lives by supplying the wants or the wishes of others, soon learns that novelty, variety, and beauty, are charms that operate most powerfully on his customers ; and accordingly, tradesmen from every provincial town in France, as well as from many of the adjoining

countries, would be induced to undertake a journey to Paris, during this anniversary of the great week, because, while gratifying their patriotism or their curiosity, they might hope to repay the expenses of their journey by selecting from the Exhibition of manufactures opened at Paris, (in which everything that is rare and curious, costly and magnificent, useful and cheap, might be found in endless variety,) such articles as might be best adapted for sale in the town to which they would return, and where a corresponding profit might be realized on their purchases. It would be a moderate expectation to believe that 100,000 buyers might be drawn to Paris from different parts of the country by this cause alone.

If, to the mere visitors from curiosity, and the purchasers of British goods, be added those who would come as sellers, bringing their French produce to the French Museum, and thus relieving themselves of their superabundant stocks, it might be deemed quite probable that 200,000 persons at least would be added to the population of Paris.

It would be needless to show in detail how such an influx of persons and money into the capital, and the consequent expenditure of a large sum by each new-comer, among its permanent inhabitants, would infuse new life into every branch of commerce in the capital itself. Some of the most splendid cities of the ancient world owed all their wealth and grandeur to this single cause—namely, the constant attraction of population by these great commercial speculations of exchange—having, indeed, no other

sources of gain. Such were, in the remotest times, Tyre and Sidon, in Phœnicia ; Alexandria, in Egypt ; and Palmyra, in the Desert of Syria ; and in the middle ages, Aden, in Arabia ; Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf ; and Leghorn, Genoa, and Venice, in Europe. The operation of the same principle is felt every year in London and Paris, each of which, when emptied of its wealthy inhabitants, is dull, gloomy, and inactive ; and each of which, when replenished by a returning population, which the Court and Senate bring in their train, is inspired with new commercial life, by increased expenditure and augmented circulation. The great commercial fairs of Kiachta, in Russia, on the borders of the Chinese empire ; of Astrakhan, on the Caspian Sea, of Hurdwar, in the north of India ; and of Leipsic, in Germany, are still existing examples of great annual benefit springing from the source described ; while the great city of Mecca, the Palmyra of modern times, though surrounded by burning and barren sands, and without a single pleasure to offer to its visitors, draws to itself, under the pretence of a religious pilgrimage, but, in reality, by the magic wand of commercial interest, and the hope of gain, not less than half a million of visitors from every quarter of the Mohammedan world.

The effect of these great trading journies to the different places named is two-fold ; for, first, each of the exchanging traders finds sufficient benefit from his purchases and sales to repay all the costs of his travelling to and fro, and to leave him an ade-

quate profit as a compensation for his time and trouble ; while the cities themselves, which are the scenes of these great assemblages of merchants, benefit so largely by the concourse of people drawn to them during their stay, as to acquire wealth enough to maintain their whole population in comparative ease, until the next returning pilgrimage or fair shall renew their annual sources of gain.

The assembling of Parliament in England, the triennial musical festivals, the thronging of visitors at particular seasons to the watering-places, are all illustrations, on a small scale, of the same principle; but the attraction I propose for Paris being so much greater than any that the world has ever yet seen, and mingling together the powerful motives of rational and scientific curiosity with the love of gain, would draw together a greater concourse of people, and consequently produce a more powerfully beneficial effect, than any effort of a similar kind that ever preceded it.

If Paris itself would benefit thus largely by the plan I propose, every department of France would be more or less a participator in the advantages thus produced. The transit of the merchandise from Havre, by way of Rouen and the Seine, would necessarily give great employment to ships, boats, men, and horses, in the way. The journeys of strangers, whether as mere visitors or as purchasers, would benefit all the departments through which they would have to pass. The transport of French goods from the provinces to the capital,

where they would alone be purchased with the money produced by the English sales, would give new life and activity to the canals, roads, carriages, waggons, horses, and people, employed in their conveyance, and relieve, beyond any other plan that could be devised, the commerce of France from the stagnation that now afflicts it; for, as when a mighty river that has been obstructed in its flow by ice, is set in motion by the genial approach of summer, all the supplying rills and rivulets that feed it are set in motion also: so, though Paris would apparently be the most active scene, every village and every cottage lying near the roads communicating with the capital, in whatever direction, or however remote, would feel its influence also.

Let it not be supposed, that by admitting the million's-worth of English goods, free of all duty or impost, the revenue of the state would lose any of its receipts:—Certainly not; for, without such a permission as this, the goods will never come. Neither let it be supposed, that the million's-worth of French goods would be sold in the ordinary course of things, whether the English were admitted freely or not. No such thing would happen. The very stagnation complained of, arises entirely from all the ordinary inhabitants of Paris and of France possessing already as much as they are disposed to purchase, of articles familiar to them, and of which they buy only what is indispensable. Take, as an example, therefore, a family thus provided, and it would be difficult to make them

expend 100 francs in anything of French produce, of which they have enough already. But lead the same family through an Exhibition filled with everything that is new, striking, curious, and fashionable, because rare and not always easy of access, and they will be tempted to expend 1,000 francs, to surround themselves with what they before could not have possessed. Will it be thought that the 1,000 francs thus excited or drawn from the rich, or the moderately wealthy, is expended in the encouragement of British industry *exclusively*? No such thing. The whole amount is to be ultimately expended in French articles to be exported to England for sale; and therefore the real effect of the plan will be to cause an expenditure of 1,000 francs in support of French industry, where 100 only would have been expended without it; besides all the collateral good arising from the immense expenditure of money, in lodgings, provisions, conveyance, amusements, journals, books, and the endless variety of channels into which money would flow; thus making the rich contribute, by a voluntary, agreeable, and useful expenditure of their wealth, to reward the industry and skill of their humbler countrymen."

This proposition was submitted through Mons. Thiers, then a Member of the French Chamber of Deputies, to Mons. Lafitte, the Minister of Finance, and by him to the Council of State. The result, however, was unfavourable; as it was ascertained that a large majority of the French Cabinet, and

French Chambers, both the Deputies and Peers, being composed of landed proprietors and rich manufacturers, adhered to the old system of monopoly and protection, and looked upon any approach to Free Trade as most dangerous to their respective interests. And indeed, this feeling still continues in full strength, among these classes at least, in France; as may be seen from the recent speech of Mons. Thiers in the National Assembly in June, 1851, on the proposition of Mons. de St. Beuve, in favour of Commercial Freedom.

The Exhibition and Exchange of a million's-worth of French goods to be sent to London, and a million's-worth of English goods to be sent to Paris, described in the preceding pages, was proposed by me in 1830:—and all the collateral advantages therein described as likely to accrue from such a mutual and reciprocal act of international confidence and friendship, have now been more than realized by the Great Exhibition of 1851. The principle of “unfettered and unlimited freedom of exchange,” is in itself so sound and incontrovertible, that it cannot fail in time to triumph over all obstacles; and the happy results of the Great Exhibition, in every respect—for a success beyond all anticipation has crowned every step of its progress—has advanced the universal reception of this principle half a century in time at least. But even sound principles require the adventitious aid of collateral circumstances to bring them into general favour—as the mass of mankind are not

yet in a condition to appreciate even Truth itself, from its mere truthfulness alone:—it must be presented to them under high patronage, and in an attractive garb, before it can obtain popularity with the million; though, when thus fortunately arrayed, it is received with general acclamation: and the wonder is then often expressed, that a truth so plain, and a principle so self-evident, were not perceived and acted upon before.

Most fortunate, therefore, was it for the country and the world at large, that the idea of this Great Exhibition should have occurred to the mind of a Prince, whose zeal in the cause of human improvement, and whose extensive knowledge and refined taste, combined, equally with his high and influential position, to make him not only the fittest but the only man in the kingdom who could unite, as he has done, the co-operation of men of all ranks and parties in the state to aid him in the completion of his great design. The countenance and approbation of the Monarch Queen could never have been so cordially and heartily elicited by any other living being, as by her own beloved Consort. The immediate accession of the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the realm was hence secured; and the most opulent among the bankers and merchants of the nation were too proud and happy to be associated with such an undertaking; while the stream, thus set in motion, rolled with uninterrupted and accumulating force, sweeping before it every obstacle that was interposed to its progress.

Equally fortunate, also, was it for the success of the Exhibition, that such an appropriate and admirable Building as that designed by Mr. Paxton, should have been selected out of the mass of Plans laid before the Council ; and that men of such capital, skill, and energy as Mr. Fox, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Chance, should be found ready, without even waiting for the formal securities of a Contract, to enter at once upon its erection. The crowning glory of the enterprise was its solemn opening by the Queen in State, surrounded by her Court, and a host of the most distinguished and eminent personages of the land, in rank, wealth, science, art, learning, skill, and philanthropy: amidst the order, decorum, and joyous sympathy of the assembled thousands who filled the air with their acclamations without the edifice, while the ceremony of the Opening was performing within it.

Since then, every succeeding day has only added fresh proofs of the importance and utility of the undertaking. Hundreds of thousands of individuals have had the happiness of enlarging their ideas, and extending their knowledge of the products of the earth, and the works of its inhabitants, in the most pleasurable of all conceivable forms.—The more wealthy classes have been taught, experimentally, the pleasure as well as duty of assisting and mingling with their humbler fellow-beings: and these again have learned, by actual observation, that those above them in station are not necessarily their enemies. Masters have shown kindness to—

wards their workmen and domestics, by giving them time to enjoy, and means to defray the expense, of visiting the Exhibition. Workmen and servants have been bound by new ties of gratitude to their masters. The very poorest of our children, the pupils of schools and orphan establishments, have not been forgotten. Emigrants, leaving their native land, many of them perhaps for ever, have been admitted to see the wonderful assemblage of people and things beneath the crystal roof, before their departure. Foreigners from all lands have been shown the respect for property, the reverence for law and order, and the general contentment with their lot, that pervades all classes in England, without the presence of insidious spies, or sabre-armed police, or bayonets of soldiers, to watch and repress the turbulence of the people. And as, in various parts of the edifice, these visitors, whether English or Foreign, must all see the following notices—

“NO SPIRITS, WINE, BEER, OR OTHER INTOXICATING LIQUORS ADMITTED WITHIN THIS BUILDING,”

“PERSONS FOUND SMOKING IN ANY PART OF THE BUILDING WILL BE REMOVED BY THE POLICE,”

—they must be impressed with the fact, that these articles thus prohibited are not only deemed *unnecessary*, but, in reality, prejudicial to those who use them, and offensive in their consequences and odours to those who do not; for on no other grounds than these would it be commendable to exclude them.

In this sense, therefore, the Crystal Palace may be truly called a SCHOOL OF TEMPERANCE, while all the lessons it teaches equally contribute to make it a TEMPLE OF PEACE.

One thing then only remains to make this great Work perfect, and this is to retain it, in its present position, when the purpose of the Exhibition shall have been completed; and, by its conversion into a Winter Garden and Sanitary Promenade, with Galleries for Statuary and Painting, and a well-arranged Museum for instruction as well as entertainment, render it a perpetual source of health and pleasure to all its visitors, as well as a permanent monument of its origin, progress, and final destination. We have been favoured with a sight of the Plans and Drawings of Mr. Paxton for the adaptation of this Building to such a purpose; and we feel convinced, that many generations, after we are all removed from this earthly scene, will rejoice in this addition to their innocent and rational enjoyments.

APPENDIX.

THE closing document of this little Volume, which has been framed with great care, and for which we are indebted to a friend, will exhibit to the *eye*, as well as to the understanding, the enormous amount of the Self-Taxation of the Inhabitants of the Realm, in comparison with the Taxes imposed on them by the Government, and still more so in comparison with their Contributions to religious, moral, or benevolent purposes. The study of this document, which is in itself a volume, will show, as forcibly as forms and figures can do, that—were it not for the burden of the National Debt, contracted almost wholly for carrying on the Wars of the Past, the maintenance of the Army and Navy, on the pretence of being ready to meet the Wars of the Future, and the overwhelming amount of the Sums spent in drinking and smoking, by which not one single good, but many evils, are produced—we should be able to educate every child in the kingdom, maintain public parks, gardens, museums, and

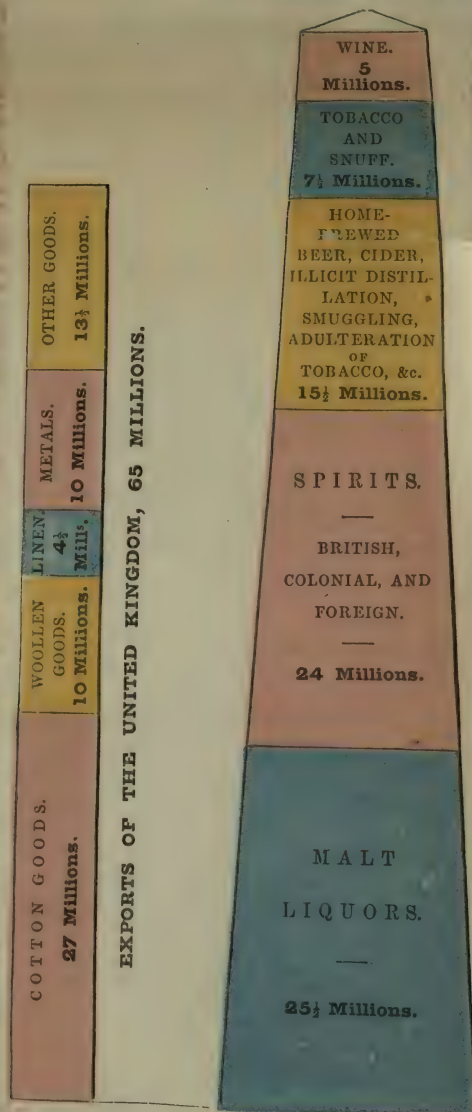
libraries in every town and village—support hospitals for the sick, asylums for the afflicted of every class, and comfortable retreats for the aged and infirm, and all this for less than half our present annual expenditure! So true is it, as affirmed in the motto on our title-page, that of all the causes most injurious to our prosperity, **INTEMPERANCE** and **WAR** may be numbered as the most powerful; and that the greatest blessings of life are all promoted by **TEMPERANCE** and **PEACE**.

THE END.

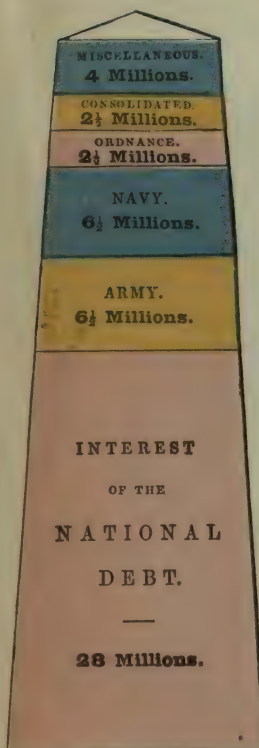
* * * From certain changes which it was thought desirable to make in the order of the several Sections of this little Volume *after* it had been begun to be printed, there has been a double paging to the Sheets—the first Section being numbered from 1 to 42, and the remaining portions from 10 to 144, making therefore, with the Appendix, 180 pages in all.

DRINKING AND SMOKING TAXES.
77 MILLIONS PER ANNUM.

BRITISH TAXATION.



GOVERNMENT TAXES.
50 MILLIONS.



Our Drinking and Smoking Taxes are half as much again as the entire Taxation of the United Kingdom; twelve times as much as our Poor Rates; and more than seventy times as much as we give to the twelve largest Societies for Promoting the cause of Religion and Morality, whose united annual income does not amount to one million.

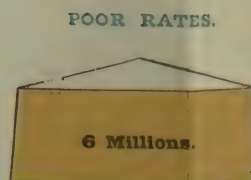
(For further particulars, see over.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FOLLOWING SOCIETIES.

Bible Society.
Church Missionary Society.
Wesleyan Missionary Society.
London Missionary Society.
Baptist Missionary Society.
Religious Tract Society.
Christian Knowledge Society.
Propagation of the Gospel Society.
Church Pastoral Aid Society.
British and Foreign School Society.
Home Missionary Society.

LESS THAN

ONE MILLION.



SCALE OF MILLIONS STERLING.

BRITISH TAXATION.

dc.

THE enclosed pyramids are intended to present an idea of the various sums, in their relative proportions, expended by the British people upon different branches of the public service, and upon religious and philanthropic objects, in contrast with those expended upon intoxicating drinks and tobacco.

The statements relating to the general taxation and expenditure of the country, military and civil, are taken from the government returns, and those respecting intoxicating drinks and tobacco, from a paper read by Mr. G. R. Porter, of the Board of Trade, before the last meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Science. It is necessary, however, to observe, that Mr. Porter in this instance only calculates the expenditure of the *working classes* upon the articles referred to, which he estimates at £57,000,000. The following is his statement:—

British and colonial spirits	£20,810,208
Brandy	3,281,250
Total of spirits	24,091,458
Beer of all kinds, exclusive of that brewed in private families	25,388,165
Tobacco and snuff	7,588,607
	£57,068,230

He does not include in that calculation £5,000,000 annually spent upon wine, nor does he make any calculation for the immense quantities of spirits supplied by smuggling and illicit distillation, for the quantities of cider and home-brewed beer annually consumed, nor for that which greatly exceeds in amount all these items put together—the enormous quantity added by the adulteration of every kind of intoxicating drink, as well as of tobacco. Had these items been included, the amount for the whole kingdom would have been at least one-fourth more than that which is stated by Mr. Porter; and at that increased sum it is stated in the large pyramid. To this enormous sum expended in the purchase of alcoholic drinks and tobacco, we must add the loss sustained by the destruction of food every year, which is sufficient to maintain 6,000,000 of our population. A considerable proportion of the amount paid for poor rates, and also of the large sums annually expended in the prosecution and maintenance of our criminal population, must likewise be added. If the cost of strong drinks and tobacco, and the losses in various ways resulting from their use, be thus great, it surely becomes a duty to ascertain what benefits we

derive in return. With respect to strong drink we have the following testimony, signed by about 2,000 of our most eminent medical men:—

- “We, the undersigned, are of opinion,—
- “I.—That a very large portion of human misery, including poverty, disease, and crime, is induced by the use of alcoholic or fermented liquors, as beverages.
- “II.—That the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all such intoxicating beverages, whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, ale, porter, cider, &c. &c.
- “III.—That persons accustomed to such drinks, may, with perfect safety, discontinue them entirely, either at once, or gradually after a short time.
- “IV.—That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors and intoxicating beverages of all sorts, would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, the morality, and the happiness of the human race.”

These views of the utter worthlessness of such drinks as an article of diet, are confirmed by the experience of thousands of working men and others, in all parts of the united kingdom.

Of strong drinks as an incentive to crime, and a powerfully demoralizing agent, our Judges have frequently spoken in the most decided terms. Amongst others we have the following:—

- JUDGE COLERIDGE: “There is scarcely a crime comes before me that is not, directly or indirectly, caused by *strong drink*.”
- JUDGE GURNEY: “Every crime has its origin, more or less, in *drunkenness*.”
- JUDGE PATTERSON: “If it were not for this *drinking*, you (the jury) and I would have nothing to do.”
- JUDGE ALDERSON: “*Drunkenness* is the most fertile source of crime; and if it could be removed, the assizes of the country would be rendered mere nullities.”
- JUDGE WIGHTMAN: “I find in every calendar that comes before me, one unfailing source, directly or indirectly, of most of the crimes that are committed—*intemperance*.”

It thus appears that we are annually expending the enormous sum of nearly £80,000,000 sterling on two articles of mere luxury, which are the chief incentives to the vice, misery, and wretchedness that afflict our land.

Can a stronger case by possibility be made out for the entire abandonment of any practice?

To the labouring classes especially, who, it is computed, annually expend half of the before-named sum, we would most earnestly appeal, and entreat them no longer to barter their means of happiness and comfort, of social and moral elevation, for a low, debasing, and short-lived gratification.

Were only five millions per annum of the large sum spent in drink devoted to the purchase of land, it would afford every year a quarter of an acre each to two hundred thousand labouring men; reckoning the land at £100 per acre.

To the friends of religion and morality we would say, Is it wise or Christian to give your support to customs which so powerfully counteract your labours, and which absorb to so large an extent the means you greatly need for enlightening and evangelizing the world?

Twelve of our largest and most influential religious and philanthropic Societies, are unable to raise one million a-year to prosecute their praiseworthy objects, while upwards of seventy millions are annually squandered on a hurtful, crime-producing drink.

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